

SHOULD A PROTESTANT MARRY
A ROMAN CATHOLIC?

PROTESTANT DIGEST

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MAY, 1940

	Page
Protestantism and the Middle Way . . .	1
Blockade, USSR, and Peace . . .	3
"Liberalism" Fosters Illiberalism . . .	6
A Resolution . . .	8
Catholic Action in America . . .	10
A Victory for Jehovah's Witnesses . . .	22
Labor Is America . . .	25
Spivak's Silver Charlie—III . . .	28
27 Songs of Love and Life . . .	31
Indian Missions and Imperial Britain . . .	34
Purge in the Spanish Church . . .	40
The Jewish Christ and the German Christ . . .	50
The Necessity of War . . .	57
A Catholic Reporter in Spain—II . . .	59
The Jesuits and the Encyclopedia Britannica . . .	66
Hitler's Teacher and Poor Relation . . .	68
Church or Clique? . . .	70
Should a Protestant Marry a Roman Catholic? . . .	80
Vital Literature . . .	85
Letters to the Editor . . .	94

 Pacific School of
Religion

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INDIAN MISSIONS AND
IMPERIAL BRITAIN

PROTESTANT DIGEST

MAY, 1940

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PROTESTANT DIGEST is published monthly by
PROTESTANT DIGEST, Inc., Dobbs Ferry, New York
Editorial and executive offices

521 Fifth Ave., New York City

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General Manager, KENNETH LESLIE.

On sale at Leading News Stands and Book Stores. 25c the copy. Yearly subscription rates: One Year \$3.00; Two Years \$5.00 in the United States and South America. 25c additional postage in Canada and foreign countries.

Entered as second class matter at post office, DOBBS FERRY, New York, under act of March 3, 1879.

Printed in U.S.A.

PROTESTANT DIGEST

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VOL. III

MAY, 1940

No. 5

PROTESTANTISM AND THE MIDDLE WAY

Protestantism has achieved a great place for itself in the modern world. It has been closely associated with the rise of capitalism over feudalism. Yet it has not identified itself with capitalism. In fact it is more free than Catholicism from such identification. Protestantism has chosen the Middle Way in Northern Europe. Catholicism has chosen the Corporate State in Southern Europe and in practice the Corporate State is faster frozen to capitalism than the Middle Way. In fact private capital has learned in Scandinavia how to retreat gracefully from the stage as co-operative capital advances.

In America we have these forces facing one another—Protestant advocates of the Middle Way and Catholic advocates of the Corporate State. If Protestants were effective politically they would carry the day here. In this

reference they are not politically-minded at all. They think they have done their duty (and a distasteful one at that) when they crush an Al Smith at the polls or when they recall an "Ambassador" from the Vatican, whereas, when and if they accomplish such things, they have not yet scratched the surface of their political problem. In fact they often make things worse by lining up the equally wide-eyed liberals and the self-styled "spiritually emancipated" on the side of the poor martyred Catholics. Many such voted for Al Smith and pooh-pooh all this fuss about the Vatican because they hate bigotry and think they are living in a time when Catholicism is a persecuted minority. They simply haven't caught up on their reading. They might begin with the splendidly documented articles of S. R. Herbert currently running in the *Protestant Digest*. When you think of the chills and fevers caused by a few thousand Communists, you should not be surprised at the real power of ten million disciplined and deliverable Catholics. Still a minority, you say. But a minority may be a plurality. Moreover, the large cities, the nerve centers, are nearly all Catholic-controlled. Look in your World's Almanac.

Our plea is for calm, cool study of the situation here in America. Our plea is for poise, for balance, for weight. But let the balance arise from our own conviction and let it issue in concrete judgments (positive as well as negative). Let us not lie like a great shapeless mass to be gnawed at first from one side and then from another, our little prejudices played upon from all sides because our beliefs don't outweigh our prejudices.

How cleverly we are being conditioned to please those who openly boast that our will is gone, that we are a walking corpse, that we have abandoned Christ! They know we fear Communism, so they ring us in behind their attacks on a "Communism" which includes everything in the modern free democratic world. They know that anti-Semitism is a Protestant sin, so they flatter that sin through their Coughlins and through their Edward Lodge Currans who operate even in so-called inter-faith groups. They feed us just enough gruel to keep our senses dull. In fact they treat us as we deserve to be treated.

Our plea is for an awakening before it may be too late. We don't want a Corporate State. We don't want Communism. We want the Middle Way,

the way of progress towards ever greater democratic control which is nothing more nor less than self-control. We Protestants are not doctrinaire. Our protest is against what Claude Williams calls "top-down control," and we don't want to be protected from a "Communist" control (which is at present a ridiculous myth) by a Catholic control which will put us in irons.

Many will have ceased reading this editorial before this. They will say "another Catholic-baiter." But if we plead for Protestant awakening we plead as much in the interest of the Catholic religion as in the interest of the Protestant religion. Catholics and Protestants thrive alongside each other, respecting the life in each other. Catholic grace makes supple the Protestant sword and Protestant strength tempers the Catholic sword. We need each other in the spiritual struggle which lies ahead of Christendom. Therefore our opposition to political Catholicism is in the interests of religious Catholicism. Again, read Herbert for the lesson of Spain.

It is part of the integrity of our country to keep government's hands off the churches whether to destroy or to support them. Let us study lest suddenly we may lose our integrity in the night while we sleep!

BLOCKADE, USSR, AND PEACE

The Quakers who went into Austria at the end of the last European war will bear witness to the fact that there is no more horrible form of warfare than blockade.

Blockade is a leech that fastens itself first upon the bodies of the children, the old, the women, then upon the workers, last of all upon the soldiers, a leech that produces a slow torture and death in the body and in the soul a hate that brews new wars in children yet unborn.

Blockade can be carried on under the forms of peace. Hawley-Smootism is a form of blockade, popular among "statesmen" whose imaginations cannot envisage the distress caused in the countries so blockaded and the hatred in those countries for the blockader. The history of this quiet "gentlemanly" form of blockade has been insufficiently noticed. In Mrs. John Richard Green's history of Ireland, for instance, you may read how frequently it

was employed by England against the flourishing young industries of Ireland, causing widespread distress in that country.

And there is blockade by boycott. Gandhi's boycott of English cotton caused such deprivations among the Lancashire operatives that Gandhi was shocked when he visited them and witnessed the effects of his "white war" upon innocent people whose masters had forced their brummagem (Birmingham shoddy) upon India for over a hundred years.

Because blockade is a peculiarly cruel form of totalitarian warfare, and because, furthermore, the blockade of any great world-trading country forms a whirlpool with that blockaded nation at its centre and with the whole world of neutrals being drawn steadily and irresistibly into its vortex, therefore the whole world of neutrals must be especially interested in such an undertaking as the present blockade of Germany by the Allies.

It would seem that this special interest of the world of neutrals would perhaps be the interest around which might crystallize some sort of a basis for a world order.

Of course neutrals disappear between editions of the newspaper. Yesterday the Danes led normal lives. Today they are on war rations. Yet through this very experience the will of the Danish people has been made more dynamic towards collective security. One after another the little nations are experiencing what Haille Selassie prophesied they would experience if they abandoned Ethiopia. They did abandon Ethiopia. They abandoned Spain. They abandoned Czechoslovakia. Poland even took a bite out of Czechoslovakia when the fascist wolf had her down. It needs hardly be mentioned that these neutrals always acted in the orbit of one or the other of the great Powers.

One neutral, Spain, did her best to stay out of these swinging orbits of power. Her fate was a warning to honest people everywhere. Her tragic struggle with the fascist powers under the cold unseeing eye of the democratic neutrals constituted the symbol of world democratic decay.

Can democracy assert itself at this late hour? "The more the war spreads," says Hans Kohn, "the more the neutrals will learn that the hope of

their survival lies in cooperation." It is when freedom is crushed that the spirit of freedom revives. This is the very soul of the truth of the resurrection. It is passionate hunger for what has been killed that creates anew the thing hungered for. Turning aside for an example to the domestic scene, it is in our almost fascist South that the dynamic is gathering for a great renewal of democracy. So everywhere throughout the world, in Spain, in China, where freedom has suffered most, there the spirit of freedom gathers itself for resurrection.

The spirit of freedom will not however rise throughout the world as a whole in sufficient power to express itself in a world community until both the German and the Anglo-French orbits have cracked each other wide open, have in fact let the daylight into one another. Exactly as the fascist wolf must be set back upon its haunches, so Anglo-French imperialism (mellow where it can afford to be mellow, sufficiently hard-boiled when necessary) must be set back too.

The world would be in a complete state of funk and anarchy should Germany have an unequivocal triumph. In such an eventuality the logic of events would drive the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. into joint efforts against a Berlin-Tokyo world hegemony. This would happen before you could say Jack Robinson.

If you doubt this take a map and gaze at it. Imagine. Germany has won. France and England are under gauleiters. Their navies are hers, their colonial empires hers, Italy and Spain her satellites. What of Japan? Asia for Japan with Australia to throw in for a good bargain.

But why bargain with Japan? Because two enemies remain on the map to be reckoned with: the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Must we pause and remind our readers that despite statements to the contrary repeated by almost every writer in the press from Westbrook Pegler all the way up to Oswald Garrison Villard, the U.S.S.R. is not an ally of Germany? Now the only possibility of Germany's holding two such powerful enemies at bay while consolidating her gains would be for her to prevail upon Japan to attack the U.S.A. or at least to immobilize the U.S.A. while she (Germany) either attacked or immobilized Russia. Can you doubt that such a contingency would draw capi-

talist U.S.A. and socialist U.S.S.R. together for discussions of common aims and viewpoints? If such discussions are indicated to prevent World War No. III, why not now, for the possible prevention of World War No. II?

On the other hand, Anglo-French victory would mean starting the race all over again away behind the Versailles scratch. It would mean living over again the glorious years 1918-1939 with variations.

The people are tired of all this. But the people have no means of expression. They are tied to those who dole out their daily rations. They are confused and divided. Yet in England, for instance, they begin to remember that even in Baldwin's time their Government never spoke out in condemnation of Germany's handing over innocent men and women and children into the hands of sick sadists to be tortured with Nazi thoroughness and skill. They begin to remember that, in the words of Hamilton Fyfe, Chamberlain went further than Baldwin and "did his best to make friends with the arch-torturer, the Chief Savage. He came back from Munich waving his scrap of paper and chortling 'Peace in our time!' —peace with the man whose devilish cruelty he now calls on us to shudder at." So completely are these gentlemen wrapped up in their class egotism that they parade their callousness in such unconscious confessions as Neville Henderson's memoir. People tire of all this, and despite vested interests (labor as well as capitalist vested interests) they are beginning to get off the treadmill. Wait until the two imperial orbits really bump one another and they may stampede off the treadmill. Then there may be a chance for peace.

A "LIBERALISM" WHICH FOSTERS ILLIBERALISM

Liberalism must renew its inner life and deepen its channels if it is to release us for great living in this age. For one thing, the forms to which the liberal spirit gives birth must never become identified with liberalism. For another, the true liberal spirit will not be content to contradict a literal-minded "fundamentalism" on its own level, but will rather strive to discover and develop the timeless significance which gave and may still give validity to "fundamentalist" doctrines. In this sense the liberal spirit is exemplified in such "modern fundamentalists" as Hocking, Berdyaev, Maritain, Tillich, Reinhold Niebuhr.

In practical matters a merely formal liberalism may be (indeed is being) used to sanction illiberal actions—giving the irresponsible industrialist, for instance, “freedom” to enslave men under the guise of giving them “freedom” to work for less than a living wage and to stay outside of the union. Here is a case where one form of freedom (freedom to work as an individual) must surrender to a form which may be more important (freedom to eat).

To take another example, a merely formal liberalism may be (indeed is being) used as a protective shell behind which an educational system of illiberalism is being built up. This is a stale and stupid form of liberalism which protects a medieval ecclesiasticism in its “freedom” to teach illiberalism, to inculcate illiberalism as a virtue, to develop and to harden until finally it can and it must according to its own definition of itself do away with the “liberalism” which protected it and which it no longer needs.—K. L.

Newcomers on our Editorial Advisory Board are:

SHERWOOD EDDY, founder of the Delta Co-operative Farm in Mississippi, and the author of many books, the most recent being “I Have Seen God Do It,” which was reviewed in our April number and from which we reprinted a chapter in March; HALFORD E. LUCCOCK, Professor of Homiletics at Yale University Divinity School; JOHN A. MACCALLUM, minister of the Walnut Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, editor of the *Presbyterian Tribune* in 1938 and 1939 and president of the Presbyterian Ministers’ Fund; CLIFTON MACON, formerly of St. Bartholomew’s Church in New York City; LOUIE D. NEWTON, pastor of the Druid Hills Baptist Church, Atlanta, and Associate Secretary of the *Baptist World Alliance*; G. BROMLEY OXNAM, bishop of the Methodist Church, Boston Area; and EDWIN MCNEILL POTEAT, minister of the Euclid Ave. Baptist Church, Cleveland.

RESOLUTION OF DRUID HILLS BAPTIST CHURCH, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Herewith I hand you a resolution, unanimously adopted by Druid Hills Baptist Church, in regular conference, April 10, 1940.

I believe that the time has come in this vitally important situation to take this question to our people. It will tremendously strengthen our protest to have the churches take action, thereby indicating to our public leaders that this is not merely a protest of preachers, but the people as well.

I am sending copies of this resolution to every member of Congress from Georgia, and I hope that pastors throughout the nation will submit resolutions of protest to their churches, and send copies of same, not only to the President and the Department of State, but to every member of Congress from their state.

Such action will greatly strengthen the resolution which state and sectional conventions will adopt this spring and fall.

Again thanking you for the valiant leadership which you are giving in this crucial hour, I am

LOUIE D. NEWTON, *Pastor.*

WHEREAS, the President of the United States did, on December 24, 1939, announce the appointment of a "personal representative" to the Vatican, and

WHEREAS, subsequent developments have established the fact that the President's appointment of a "personal representative" to the Vatican has not been authorized by the Congress; that his expenses are to be paid by the government; that he is to report from time to time "to this government"; that his term of appointment is unlimited; that the Vatican has officially received him and has listed his name in the pontifical directory for 1940 as an ambassador of the United States; and that permanent offices have been opened by the "personal representative" to the Vatican with a staff of secretaries in a city where already the United States has a duly appointed ambassador, and

WHEREAS, this action on the part of the President of the United States appears to be in direct violation of the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which reads, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," and

WHEREAS, this action further appears to jeopardize the cherished principle of complete separation of church and state for which our fathers suffered that we might enjoy religious liberty; Therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, by the members of the Druid Hills Baptist Church, of Atlanta, Georgia, at the regular monthly conference of the church, this, the 10th day of April, 1940,

First, that we heartily commend the effort of the President and all other Americans in seeking by every rightful method and measure to promote the peace of the world and to alleviate human suffering, and

Second, that we do most earnestly protest the action of the President in his appointment of a "personal representative" to the Vatican, just as we would protest such an appointment to any other religious body in the world, and

Third, that we petition the President of the United States to immediately recall this appointment.

LOUIE D. NEWTON, *Moderator*

HORACE A. HIXON, *Clerk*

*Unanimously adopted in
regular church conference,
this April 10, 1940.*

CHRIST AND THE CLENCHED FIST

We believe that our world and the men and women in it are the body of God.

You may call that poetical language if you like

But poetical language is merely an attempt to be more realistic than prose language.

Christ was a man who made men aware of love as their more natural (not more than natural) life.

Christ's heart still beats in the hearts of men.

And when men's hands become fists clutching emptiness in the paralysis of revenge,

*Then Christ's heart beats fast, beats furious kindness to those hands
And gently opens them again.*

—K. L.

CATHOLIC ACTION IN AMERICA

By J. WILLIAMS

[*The following article from a magazine published by anti-Nazi German Refugees in Paris, although dealing with events which transpired nearly a year ago, will be of considerable interest as being a picture of Catholic Action in this country seen from the perspective of Europe, where Catholic Action has long been a potent force.*—The Editor.]

IN AUGUST, 1939, the *National Catholic Social Action Congress* was held in Cleveland. The *National Catholic Social Action Congress* is a part of the *National Catholic Welfare Conference*, the focal point of "Catholic Action." This conference is a continuation of the *Catholic Welfare Committee* which, in 1917, was formed to support the war. When "Catholic Action" was formed in Europe, the Pope had not planned to launch it in America. Only after the insistence of the American bishops was such a group formed in the United States, utilizing the framework of the former *Catholic Welfare Association*.

Why did the Pope hesitate? Why did he choose to dispense with the assistance of American laity organizations so necessary to Catholic policy? The main reason is perhaps that the United States is predominantly Protestant and that anti-

Catholic feeling is so strong, particularly in the South, that it is seldom exceeded even by an intense feeling of anti-Semitism. Against such a set-up, a drive on the part of the Catholics for "Catholic Action" might have been extremely unwise. It might have inflamed public opinion against them in large areas of the country.

On the other hand, the existing freedom of religion and the predominance of parochial schools and private universities gives the Church ample opportunity to plant its doctrines in the minds of its followers. The political influence enjoyed and exerted by the Catholic Church by reason of its control of the Democratic political machines in New York and Boston, for example, where the Irish Catholics hold a virtual balance of power, is a flagrant case in point. By appointing Catholic librarians and by packing

the Boards of Education of the Public School System, it has been fairly simple to prevent free cultural development. However, the recent clean-up drive against political corruption, crime in high places, the rackets, and the extension of civil service and the merit system, has affected Catholic pressure groups quite as much, if not more, than it has other selfish interests. The Catholic Church, therefore, must establish political influence in virgin territory.

The Catholic Church is the largest religious body in the United States, the Protestants being divided into a number of independent churches. Approximately 20,000,000 of the 130,000,000 Americans are Catholics. An important factor, however, is that the majority of Catholics are Irish, Italians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks and Mexicans. With the exception of the Irish and a small segment of the Italians, these groups have been in the country a comparatively short time and are still in the lower economic and social brackets. The Poles and the Mexicans, in particular, have not been assimilated and are often handicapped by illiteracy. They have no

influence in the political machines.

Another reason why the Pope at first soft-pedalled the campaign of political Catholicism in America was that the Church has not been the object of an organized attack on religious grounds. Because of the tolerant philosophies of pragmatism and liberalism, the dogmas of the Church have not been endangered in *this country*. Besides, in Germany, Austria, Spain and Mexico, the Catholic International had stakes which were

in far greater need of protection. Except in Spain, these positions have recently been greatly weakened. Yet in none of these places is a cam-

paign on the part of the Church just at present advisable.

In Germany and in Central Europe Hitler has undertaken to destroy entirely all freedom of the spirit and his attack can be placed in the win column for the Catholic Church in spite of the present persecution of Catholics. These factors seem to have contributed to the decision of the Church to strengthen Catholicism's political basis in America, a plan which appears in concrete form in the program of the Cleveland Congress.

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"Catholic Action" in the United States is, in a sense, still in its infancy; the laity is not yet well organized and the clergy, among whom are many Jesuits, is not yet quite agreed as to what tactics are to be pursued in every case. The Catholic "party line," however, is quite clear:

1. The future

political power of the Church lies in the labor unions. (The majority of Catholics are unskilled workers.)

2. The encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI establish

the basis for the approach to the workers.

3. The enemy is Marxism.

Everything for the Workers!

I asked a non-Catholic union official what he thought of the conference. "Swell—they're completely on the worker's side. Their Christianity is only window dressing," he said.

It is thus apparent that even class conscious and otherwise well-informed workers are grotesquely naive

and uninformed as to the aims of political Catholicism. Since the Catholic Church in America, unlike its European guardian, has no extensive feudal holdings and is not supported by heavy industry to any appreciable degree, naturally it would attempt to ingratiate itself with the labor unions, a new and powerful

political element

and a going concern. And for this

reason the Congress broke many a lance and crooned sweet roundelays in behalf of the working class and its right to organize.

There were two significant points at the Congress

which arouse suspicion. One was the absence of George Shuster, undoubtedly the best Catholic authority on labor, a non-conformist who in opposition to the hierarchy opposes Fascism in any form as an anti-labor movement, and has distinct sympathies for Soviet Russia; the other was the absence of either pro or anti-Coughlin literature. Printed propaganda consisted of numerous pamphlets attacking "Communism,"

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3. *The enemy is Marxism.*

"Socialism," "Loyalist Spain" and "Mexico."

Quite as suspicious was the avoidance of discussion groups and addresses on Fascism, a topic of intense interest to other Americans which is never missing on the agenda of other congresses.

Unemployment and the Labor Unions

At the Congress the Catholics were enthusiastically insistent upon the right of labor unions to bargain collectively. In a Democracy the working class should be organized. This position is completely in accord with the appeal made on the Sunday Catholic Radio hours to Catholic workers to join either the A.F. of L. or the C.I.O. The Catholic Church has decided against the formation of separate Catholic unions in the United States.

In the Congress group which had as its topic economic life in the United States, neither the prevalence of exploitation nor the existence of monopolies was mentioned. Instead, a Catholic priest, who is also an economist, presented a plan to put idle capital into circulation—a plan which merely scratches the surface. Sums on deposit in banks would be taxed in order to force the owners of

these sums to spend their money as quickly as possible.

In order to illustrate forcefully America's failure to emerge from the depression and, at the same time, to push his plan, the same speaker recalled that almost all countries, Germany included, had a higher degree of economic recovery than the United States. He maintained that no success can be expected from the out-moded device of lowering prices. Since banks do not lend money to small businessmen, he suggested support for the Mead Bill which proposes government loans to small businessmen. He assumed an attitude of critical opposition to government spending for public works because it increases the national debt.

Another economist presented the "Catholic organization plan for the working class"; a plan for a "Christian Democracy." His description of this plan was by no means clear. The give-away that may cause non-Catholics and truly *democratic* Catholics to regard this "Christian Democracy" with cool reserve and a great deal of suspicion was his condemnation of "Protestant Economy." According to him the Protestants failed because they lost sight of the corporate aims and efforts of the Middle Ages, because they became *individualists* and thus destroyed the

Christian social order. Do the Catholics thus openly admit that "Christian Democracy" is "Catholic Democracy"? The Christian order is a corporative order, said this speaker; such a corporation means Democracy in its finest sense; our (American) Democracy, however, has been shorn of the principles of Christ.

The republican constitution of the United States does

not suffice. It lacks Justice and Charity. Self-governing Guilds should control the economic life in order really to utilize private property for the good of mankind without depending upon the

state. In principle, this viewpoint is at variance with a liberal, as well as with a socialist, economic concept. It demands the establishment of a group consciousness in which science is not isolated but rather serves society. Guilds would be the recognized organizations of the working class, protected by the State, but self-governing. These Guilds, in co-operation with the employers' organizations, would establish, not only wages, hours and working conditions, but also prices and the quality

of goods. In order to illustrate more clearly his proposals, the speaker seeks a parallel in medicine, where the fitness of a doctor to practice is determined by a professional body of physicians. The Guffey Soft-Coal Act would serve as a model. The same tactics could be pursued wherever workers are organized; on the railroads, in steel and in the automobile industry. The

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basis for the proposed organizations, the guilds, should be religious.

The discussion took place in the form of a forum. Previously chosen, dependable Catholics took part in it.

In spite of the fact that nothing of any economic importance was brought to light, the line which the Catholic Church intends to pursue was easily discernible. Quite openly they described the projected "Guilds" as comparable to an Italian Fascist workers' organization, although stripped of bureaucratic trimmings. They even recalled that an exemplary model for these "Guilds" existed a few short years ago—namely—the *Austrian Corporative State*, or as it was called in German, the "Christ-

liche Stände-Staat." That was the Dolfuss-Schuschnigg State that murdered workers and did nothing to protect those it did not kill from the vicious tyranny of monopoly capitalism!

Catholic Sociology

The *American Catholic Sociological Society* was founded after Catholic sociologists realized that the other sociological societies evidently had a different conception of man from theirs. For all the other societies were based on a "pagan theory." So the *Catholic Sociological Society* became a part of the *Welfare Conference*.

Without offering any analysis of existing society—an analysis one should expect from a sociological gathering—the speakers began immediately to make positive proposals for a new social order, with the motto, "Men must live for God, men must work to live."

The proposals consisted of the following: The organization of a corporative movement and the creation

of a corporative state. There should be no conflict between capital and labor. The advantages of the one are the advantages of the other and both must work for the common good. Thus the Catholics easily dispose of the brutal facts of class struggle. If one refuses to recognize this fundamental fact in the modern capitalist

society it is a comparatively simple task to build a new society without in the slightest disturbing the present distribution of wealth in the existing social order.

The corporative movement is to be composed of guilds—they spoke of approximately 22

such professional groups (as in Italy)—and of the organizations of manufacturers and business men. These two organizations would form groups which would determine wages, hours, prices and production.

The Catholic attitude toward the *Association of American Manufacturers* and the *Chamber of Commerce* is critical: they are not Christian, they are waging class war. True "corporatives do not fight and do not

strike; they arrive at peaceful agreements."

The proposals of many Catholics went so far as to plan a "corporate state" modeled on Portugal and Ireland. There strikes are forbidden and in the event of disagreements between employers and employees, the state settles the disputes according to "social justice."

Liberalism and individualism are the leading trends in our society today and these and the greed for money have destroyed Christianity. The speakers made very astonishing and very synthetic distinctions between natural and artificial groupings in the population. Natural groupings, ones that should be encouraged in order that they might become the basis of the corporative movement, are: family, religious, occupational and recreational groups and readers of the same newspaper. These natural groups should exert the greatest influence in the life of the community as is already the case in Portugal and Ireland. Groups which work together in this natural manner for a common goal will build a Christian democracy. They are neither fascistic nor communistic; they are truly *democratic* organizations. Liberalism has created isolated citizens. These citizens, cut off from their natural relation to family and educa-

tion, have organized political parties, which are unorganic bodies. Therefore the United States has drifted away from true democracy, the English democracy; for the "House of Commons" in its original form was "corporate representation."

The "Lobbies" in the United States represent a definite tendency and trend toward the "corporate movement." These Lobbies should be organized into a body and, instead of having two houses in Congress, one should be done away with and replaced by the new lobby organization composed of occupational and professional organizations with particular functions. This would be the first step in the formation of the future corporate state. *In order to make America a Christian democracy, politics would be completely eliminated.*

Is this a proposal for the alteration of the government and the Constitution of the United States? The discussion was interesting insofar as it showed that even the representatives of the hierarchy and the Catholic scholars were not agreed as to whether or not these proposals were worthwhile or as to how the Pope's encyclicals were to be interpreted. Several speakers declared that in planning the New Deal Roosevelt has been influenced largely by the

encyclicals. Others were of the opinion that the Popes had not favored a "corporate state" but merely the creation of a corporative movement in any given state regardless of its form of government.

Lay Organization

Groups discussing questions of principle were composed almost exclusively of the clergy, priests and nuns. The laity was sparsely represented and seldom broke its silence.

Lay organizations, such as the women and the workers, sent very few delegates. It was openly admitted that this was due to the failure of

the organizations to function successfully. On the whole there was an amazing amount of frankness displayed in all the discussions as long as the encyclicals were not the topic of conversation.

The women's lay organizations have made very little progress. Of seventeen thousand parishes in the United States only three thousand have women's organizations and not all of these function well. This is one reason why Catholic edicts and issues are often not promoted as well as they should be. For example, one state

had voted to establish fifty birth control clinics, a "disgrace" Catholic women could probably have prevented had they been well organized.

The "excessive sums" which the government spends for education were also attacked. The greater part of these sums is spent for the support of educational and state institutions for higher learning and these are schools where God has been de-throned and where consequently only

atheists have a chance. There is a danger that the scholastic requirements in state-supported schools will be forced so high that the religious

institutions will no longer be able to compete with them. The state must therefore reduce educational expenses.

But since the state is spending money for education, the Catholic Church demands that it be permitted to decide what this education is to be like. In "The Growth and Development of the Catholic School System in the United States," J. S. Burns, President of Holy Cross, says:

"In opposition to the view that responsibility for the education of the child pertains primarily to the

child, the teaching of Catholics has been that the right and duty of educating belongs primarily to the parent; and, since education in the proper sense of the word is essentially a spiritual function, the control of education of her own children rests ultimately with the Church. This does not mean that the state has not the right to establish schools.

But there is a great

difference between establishing schools and educating, between erecting buildings, paying salaries and even compelling children to attend school, and the actual work of education. The

distinction lies at the root of the Catholic view concerning the respective rights of Church, parent and state in regard to the education of the child. The distinction has been clearly drawn by Dr. Brownson, one of the profoundest minds, perhaps, that America has produced: 'We deny, of course, as Catholics, the right of the civil government to educate, for education is a function of the spiritual society, as much as preaching and the administration of the sacraments; but

we do not deny the state the right to establish and maintain schools. . . . It may found and endow schools and pay teachers, but it cannot dictate or interfere with the education or discipline of the schools. . . . All education, as all life, should be religious, and all education divorced from religion is an evil and not a good.' Education being thus essentially a function

of the spiritual society, its direction and control must rest ultimately with that society."

That is nothing if not explicit. Even in America the Catholic Church desires state-supported parochial

schools in a country where until now the separation of Church and State has been strictly enforced. But this should occasion no surprise since it is a logical step in the Catholic plan, a plan which has already scored some successes, in France for example.

The discussions of small special groups were much livelier than the other meetings. These special groups discussed the state of the workers in various industries. The workers themselves took part in the discus-

It is not without humour that the political group that most violently opposes boring from within and Communist control—the Catholics—now seeks to apply exactly the same methods. Soon true Catholic adherents of the Communist faith may be expected to place several of its borers-from-within in the Association of Catholic Unionists.

sions and they analyzed present conditions correctly.

The Association of Catholic Unionists

In the discussion of this association, which seeks to enroll all Catholic Union members, it was stated that the principal aim of the body must be to infuse workers' organizations with Christian principles and to oppose the theory of class struggle. To this aim the organization will build educational groups and schools for workers. The schools are open to all. Membership in the organization, however, is open only to those Catholic workers who are members of the A.F. of L., the C.I.O. or other *bona fide* unions. Workers who belong to company unions or wildcat unions will not be admitted.

The aim of the educational groups is to educate union organizations. It is extremely important not to create the impression that the Catholic organization intends to gain control of all unions. It was interesting to observe the reaction when one member, who claimed to be a former Communist, attempted to convince the others that the organization should also admit members of company unions. Delegates from the Ford Plant in Detroit sharply at-

tacked the company unions and their dishonest leaders.

The *Association of Catholic Unionists* seeks to avoid the appearance of being a cell organization or of being an organization within an organization. But it has naturally compiled a set of rules which rigidly govern the behaviour of its members. If, for example, a Communist and a non-Communist are opposing candidates at an election the Catholics vote naturally for the non-Communist.

It was also extremely interesting to observe the reaction of the representatives of the Church when several delegates sought to form a rigid organization under the leadership of the New York office of the Unionists. The New York office is the only group which maintains a staff of paid officials. One of the priests opposed this proposal with the statement that it was not in the province of the delegates to make such decisions because these workers' organizations were governed by the hierarchy; as a part of the *National Catholic Welfare Conference* decisions governing their organization would also be made by that body.

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methods. Soon true Catholic adherents of the Communist faith may be expected to place several of its borers-from-within in the *Association of Catholic Unionists*.

It is impossible to judge the entire conduct of "Catholic Action" without examining its international background and the line which the international head of the Church, the Pope, is pursuing. For the last few weeks he has been

concerned with world politics. He is attempting to effect peace in Europe by bringing together the great powers, fascist and non-fascist, with the ex-

ception of the Soviet Union; a plan which, if successful, will destroy the last hopes for collective security against fascist aggression. Equally suspicious are the speeches and the ceremonies the Pope has been holding for Franco Spain; he praises Franco, the Nationalists and their German and Italian helpers as the saviours of Christianity.

The Concluding Meeting

The final session, presided over by the extremely conservative Archbishop of the Cleveland Diocese, was

not without an ironical note. Frank Murphy, at that time still Attorney General, had been invited as main speaker. As the highest government official of the Catholic faith he had been chosen to cap the conference with a fitting and impressive speech.

It soon became evident that Murphy was not acquainted with the aims of the Congress. He got entirely out of line. He praised the

The Pope is attempting to effect peace in Europe by bringing together the great powers, fascist and non-fascist, with the exception of the Soviet Union; a plan which, if successful, will destroy the last hopes for collective security against fascist aggression.

Scandinavian countries for their progressive economy, although the names of these countries had been carefully avoided throughout the Congress.

After Murphy had concluded, the majority of the listeners left the auditorium. It was the only meeting that drew a comparatively large audience, and it was quite apparent that the liberals in Cleveland had filled the auditorium in order to hear Murphy and not because they were in sympathy with the Congress.

It is extremely difficult to attempt to evaluate the Congress. Its objective, the addition of millions of workers to the unions, is of course praiseworthy; and it is clear that the majority of the Catholic workers will

organize only under the persuasion of the Church. But the main objective of the Church, the repudiation of the class struggle and the creation of a Christian Democracy, will surely lead to intellectual oppression even if economic advances are achieved. And basically intellectual exploitation is aimed at the worker just as much as is economic exploitation.

Since "Catholic Action" employs the same terminology employed by Father Coughlin and also fights Communism, one is justified in assuming that the leaders of "Catholic Action" have placed Coughlin on the shelf *temporarily* only because of his present unpopularity and not because they disapprove of him; as soon as the wind blows a fascist breeze he will be very useful and can easily be taken off the shelf. This conference would have been the place to condemn him; they did not even mention his name.

"Catholic Action" is not yet strong.

And if it serves to awaken a number of labor leaders to the dangers of its existence it need not disturb anyone else unduly. If the leaders of the American labor movement become sufficiently disturbed to make an intelligent effort to enlighten the probable flood of Catholic applicants for union membership as to the true facts of the class struggle, "Catholic Action" will have a salutary effect. But the labor leaders will probably be so fascinated by this unexpected help from the Church that they may fail to recognize in this new influx of members the attempt of the Catholic Church to appropriate the labor unions as a basis for its projected hierarchic rule. Before they realize this fact it may be too late to repel the attempt. Labor today is still divided and still has no educational system. These are its two great failings and it will depend largely upon the correction of these shortcomings whether the United States chooses a progressive or a fascist development.

A Christian citizen in a democratic community will influence that community at every point. As a citizen he will support one law against another law even though as a Christian he may regard all laws as minimum requirements of his Christian attitude

K. L.

A VICTORY FOR JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES

By PAUL GIA RUSSO

—Human personality is more sacred than State Law.

JUDGE WILLIAM CLARK of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals agreed recently with J. A. Moss, retired army officer, that adulation of the Flag as an emblem or image without intelligent understanding and appreciation of the ideals and institutions it symbolizes is but a form of idolatry which makes the patriot look ridiculous. The Judge expressed an opinion, with unanimous approval, that the salute to the flag is not essential for the peace, welfare and good order of society; therefore, the court held that a school board regulation compelling public school children to salute—promulgated under a Pennsylvania law designed to increase knowledge and loyalty to state and national governments—was an unconstitutional infringement of the free exercise of religion.

It was a great legal victory for Jehovah's Witnesses—a religious sect believing that the salute to the flag is a violation of the First Commandment. In behalf of their children they have taken many cases

into the courts. State court decisions have held uniformly that their constitutional rights were not violated but now a federal court, only one step removed from the Supreme Court, has held to the contrary.

To many, Jehovah's Witnesses are a small sect with extremist tendencies. It is true they have no churches, hold no religious services, are bitter against Catholics and Protestants and intolerant of all "religionists." They spread their gospel by word of mouth, printed literature and phonograph records. As citizens they declare obedience to those laws only which are not in conflict with God's law.

But members of this sect are responsible more than all others in recent years for keeping alive in American law the issue of religious freedom. With increasing social and legal control over human relationships it is vitally important for courts of law to reiterate and re-establish this constitutional principle.

The opinion of the Third Circuit Court, affirming a lower decision by Judge A. B. Maris, is an imposing

one. Judge Clark arrives at his conclusion after an extensive review of the subject, quoting the Bible, periodicals, histories, poets, professors, presidents, as well as law cases. He reveals a profound understanding of the basic issue involved.

The law can prevail over conscience only when the health and welfare of society is vitally affected. In the past individual scruples have been restricted by the exclusion of obscene literature from the mails,

suppression of

mail frauds, re-

quirement of

physical examina-

tion for school

children as well as

prospective brides

and grooms, maintenance of certain medical qualifications for physicians, elimination of drug addiction and regulation of exhumation of dead bodies. Laws dealing with marriages, military conscription, naturalization, holidays, and the preservation of peace and quiet have been upheld by the courts even though they invaded the conscientious beliefs of individuals. Generally—no act can be done in the name of religion which destroys the peace, good order and morals of society. But certainly the salute to the flag cannot be inter-

preted as an act upon which the welfare of the nation depends.

The object of the flag is to generate love and attachment for the country it represents but there is a psychological futility in compelling a child to salute it when that child believes it to be immoral. Under such circumstances the salute is an affront to the principles for which the flag stands; it produces precisely the opposite result to that intended.

Then too, there is little doubt that

a routine repeti-

tion of the cere-

mony would

render it perfunc-

tory and devoid of

feeling for anyone

and once this ex-

perience has been lost it is difficult to recapture through the same form.

It would be wise, too, for the State of Pennsylvania to remember that one of the reasons its founder came to America long ago was his expulsion from Oxford University because of his refusal to subordinate religious scruples to educational coercion.

Perhaps the leading State decision opposing this federal view was that pronounced by the highest court of New York during the past year. It upheld the constitutionality of the educational law requiring the salute on the ground that no irreligious in-

Members of this sect are responsible more than all others in recent years for keeping alive in American law the issue of religious freedom.

tention can be imputed to the legislature. Under our Constitution it is presumed that the people are religious and as such they can pass laws designed to enhance the security and welfare of the State. That justice, mercy and humility "which is the burden of the Holy Writ is also the aim and object of the things the American flag stands for."

But there was one man sitting on that bench who concurred in the constitutionality of the law but disagreed as to its mandatory and comprehensive application. This dissenter must have felt deeply the words of the little child speaking on the witness stand: "Mr. T—— went to the front of the room and said he did not want to see anybody not saluting the flag. . . . I told him that saluting the flag is like worshipping an image, and that in the Bible in the twentieth chapter of Exodus it says, 'Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image . . . thou shalt not bow down to them nor serve them.' . . . He sent me home."

For Judge Lehman these words must have sounded clear tones of a deeper law far older and more lasting than any civil law. If no irreligious intention could be imputed to the legislature he did not believe that the public school child who

thought it immoral should be compelled to salute. The law is constitutional, to be sure, for those who feel no moral conflict in doing so, but it is dishonored by the reluctant and terrified salute of the child who believes it to be morally wrong. Human personality, religion, freedom—are more sacred in America than State law.

These Witnesses of Jehovah, therefore, who have vigorously revealed their disagreement with others should be granted that toleration and freedom guaranteed by the Constitution. These "Earnest Bible Students"—whom Adolf Hitler on April 4, 1935, decreed to be "quacks," dissolved them, confiscated their literature and turned their property over to the State—should be protected here in their religious rights, for only through strict adherence to this principle of personal freedom can constructive religion and democracy remain alive in America.

State courts have held the compulsory salute to be lawful. Federal courts have declared it unconstitutional. And though previous appeals failed, it has been accepted for review by the high court. What will the Supreme Court of the United States say?

LABOR IS AMERICA

By HENRY TAYLOR

BY THE time this is printed the proposed National Labor Relations Act changes will probably have appeared before the House of Representatives, or Rep. E. E. Cox and his supporters will be pushing a motion through the Rules Committee to bring the new labor act before the House without the consent of the Labor Committee.

Elliot Roosevelt will be speaking to more Chambers of Commerce paralleling the remarks made in Cleveland March 12 supporting the Smith Amendment and the Dies Committee. The National Association of Manufacturers will be drinking toasts to Representative Smith of Virginia. And the American people will be faced with a crisis that may turn into a disaster.

As it stands today, the National Labor Relations Act is the finest piece of labor legislation we've got so far. Since 1935 it has protected the

union worker against intimidation by employers. It has protected him against dismissal for union activities. It has compelled the employer to bargain collectively with a union of the workers' own choosing.

The benefits of the Labor Act extended not only to the worker but to the small businessman as well. Unionization meant a decent standard of living which is reflected today in the increased revenue of the corner grocer and the town baker.

"Certainly this is the time for America to preserve democracy in every quarter of its national life. . . . That is why it is simply incomprehensible to me that any one should now set up a shout for regression, that anyone should now be willing to take away any of the simple rights of freemen that the workers of America have won."

—SENATOR WAGNER.

But to the industrial coalition the Labor Act presented a threat. It was a force that prevented industry from retaining a cheap source of labor. It was a force that checked the strike-breaking brutality so dramatically exposed by the LaFollette Committee last year. And it was creating a force of 8,000,000 workers who were growing articulate of their place in society and demanding a just share of the profits of De-

mocracy—adequate housing, an adequate health program, adequate schools, and above all, peace.

The industrial coalition recognized this the day the National Labor Relations Act was passed. It set up a howl against the NLRA that did not stop until the House investigation was completed and the Smith Committee published its recommendations on March 7.

Today, the industrial coalition is drinking toasts.

For the recommendations of the Smith Committee follow all the recommendations of the National Association and more.

First, it reduces the principle of collective bargaining to a mere discussion of differences. This principle, which has been the cause of fifty years of labor strife, is so shamelessly violated that the minority members of the Smith Committee, Reps. Healey and Murdock, declared in their report that it is "so drastically restrictive as to undermine the very foundation of the act."

Another change deprives the board of all power to enforce the Act by prosecution in the courts. This function will be taken over by an administrator having no connection with the board.

In the minority report Reps. Murdock and Healey declare: "There is

absolutely no remedy by appeal to the Board or otherwise, from an arbitrary or capricious refusal of the administrator to proceed with a charge made in good faith."

The Smith Committee amendment does not permit the reinstatement of workers discharged for union activity if testimony reveals that they have "wilfully engaged in violence or unlawful destruction or seizure of property." Of this amendment the minority report declared that it "places the peaceful picket at the mercy of the labor spy, provocateur and hired thug. Any wilful violence, regardless of its pettiness or provocation, would result in a denial of reinstatement to the employee—a sentence to economic death."

How happy the National Association of Manufacturers must be about the Smith Committee bill. It's their first real victory since the NRA was declared unconstitutional—a victory, incidentally, that only came about when the administration appeared to change its attitude on the New Deal.

It is difficult to believe otherwise than that the administration has changed in its attitude towards the trade unions, and that the emasculation of the Labor Act is evidence of that change. No better warning can be given than the words of Senator

Wagner, the father of the NLRA, who declared to the Senate March 13: "Certainly this is the time for America to preserve democracy in every quarter of its national life. . . . That is why it is simply incomprehensible to me that anyone should now be willing to take away any of the simple rights of freemen that the workers of America have won."

All this is not entirely incomprehensible. And what is not incomprehensible can be fought. Congressmen listen to their constituents, and if enough mail is sent to Washington the Labor Act will not be amended. And that will be an act of salvation for the American people. Reaction is strong enough as it is without being nursed further.

We were privileged recently to hear John L. Spivak, "America's Ace Reporter," tell to a large audience in Pittsburgh the unsavory story of Father Coughlin. We chanced to sit in the balcony beside an avowed anti-Semitic follower of the powerful priest. This follower, it was amazing to notice, appeared visibly moved by the obvious sincerity of Spivak. That his faith was completely destroyed we wouldn't dare to say, but it was certainly shaken. Indeed, from the tone of the questions and interruptions, it appeared to this observer that the Coughlinites were at last on the defensive.

But when argument fails against the enemies of American Rexism, there is provided by its fuehrer-priest in his own words the Franco Way.

A good little start along the Franco Way was taken right after the meeting when you and I seized Spivak through our civil arm (the police), struck and insulted him and hauled him off in the night to jail. This is definitely our responsibility. Shall liberal democratic Americans harass and chain its liberators?

SPIVAK'S SILVER CHARLIE—III

By EDWARD KELLEY

—*Silver Charlie in person.*

The first of Father Coughlin's private activities which Mr. Spivak discusses is the revolt of Homer Martin's U.A.W. from the C.I.O. It appears from affidavits that Mr. Bennett, head of the Ford secret police, financed Mr. Martin while Father Coughlin was the go-between who promised Mr. Martin the unionization of the Ford plants if he would start the rival union. Secondly, Father Coughlin has repeated verbatim official Nazi propaganda in the columns of *Social Justice* and over the air, and has allied himself to and been defended by Zoll, Van Nosedall, and Pelley—all of whom head or have headed Fascist organizations. This unholy alliance resulted in the Christian Front. The Front is as the name implies not a single body but an association of societies, approximately a dozen in number, which are united by a common desire to secure the preservation of Christianity and the Constitution—or at least such is their professed aim. This Front contains the German American Bund as well as many lesser known parties such as the Crusaders of America, the American Patriots and the Christian Mobilizers. There seems to be some question as to whether the *Social Justice Distributors Club* belongs to the Christian Front, but there is no question that it joins in their activities. The CF was organized at the Paulist Fathers Rectory at 473 W. 59th St. and was at one time headed by Father Duffy of the St. Francis of Assisi Church at 7th Ave. and 31st St. Father Coughlin has strongly advocated—and still does—the formation of the Christian Front, although at present he is inclined to quibble between *the* CF and *a* CF, and has tried to identify the Christian laity with a CF. Two notable occasions on which he exhorted his readers to join the CF were in *Social Justice*, April 23, 1938, and June 13, 1938. When Father Coughlin was banned from WMCA, the CF picketed the station every Sunday for months, while the CF has always supplied salesmen for *Social Justice* as well as selling the magazine at its own meetings. The anti-Semitism of *Social Justice*, which Mr. Spivak connects with that of the *Dearborn Independent*, is easily discernible, despite Father Coughlin's specific denial of any hatred against the Jewish race because they are Jews—intimating it is against the specific acts of individual members that he is crusading—for example, usury. But at the hands of

inflammatory CF speakers this nice distinction is completely lost and the anti-Semitic race hatred stands out, naked and unashamed. But two facts tend to discredit Father Coughlin's protestations of innocence: every issue of *Social Justice* contains some article which furnishes anti-Semitic propaganda, such as the "Protocols of Zion"; while the name of Ben Marcin has been signed to articles purporting to be written by a Jew in an effort to correct the erring members of his own race—and there is no such person as Ben Marcin.

Mr. Spivak gives vivid pictures of his interviews and attempted interviews with various members of Father Coughlin's supporting cast, which lack of space compels us to omit. He visited Stanley Boynton, President of Aircasters, Inc., the supposed radio advertising agency which handle the R.L.L.F.'s broadcasts. Mr. Boynton seems to have been completely at sea; he denied any connection with the S.J.P.Co. whose General Manager he was in 1938—according to sworn Federal returns. He knew very little about the stock of his own company or how he purchased it or what had become of the other original stockholders—and was unable to answer a riddle propounded by Mr. Spivak. According to Mr. Boynton's statements, the R.L.L.F. broadcasts are commercial in nature, designed to help the sales of *Social Justice*, and paid for by the S.J.P.Co. The cost of these broadcasts is approximately \$500,000 a year. How can the S.J.P.Co. operating at a \$75,000 loss on a \$200,000 balance sheet pay out \$500,000 for Father Coughlin's broadcasts? Mr. Spivak suggests that perhaps the money collected by the R.L.L.F., the charitable organization, is being turned over to the profit-making S.J.P.Co.—without the consent of the members. And certainly, booming the sales of *Social Justice* to make a profit for the S.J.P.Co. is not the aim of the R.L.L.F. as stated at incorporation and for which money is solicited and obtained.

Mr. Spivak also interviewed Mr. Semmes, attorney for Mr. Kinsky and Father Coughlin. The lawyer didn't know much about Mr. Kinsky, although the latter had referred the reporter to Mr. Semmes for information—a simple case of evasive buck-passing. But one interesting fact revealed in the interview with Mr. Semmes was that all the records and information about the S.J.P.Co. can be obtained by telephoning the Shrine of the Little Flower. Indeed, Father Coughlin thought this sufficiently important to have Mr. Semmes write Mr. Spivak to correct the false impression given by repeated telephone calls to the shrine for facts concerning S.J.P.Co. and to deny that this tax-exempt property was being used by the S.J.P.Co. When Mr. Schwartz

was interviewed, he confirmed that he was merely Father Coughlin's mouth-piece and did not determine the editorial policy of *Social Justice*. But Mr. Spivak's interview with Miss Alberta Ward gives proof of his contention that these ladies who own all these lofty enterprises are merely stooges. In the first place we must bear in mind that the L.L.F., R.L.L.F., N.U.S.J., S.J.P.Co., and S.J.P.S. have all been owned by Father Coughlin and his straw sextet, the Misses Collins, Burke, M. Rhodes, D. Rhodes, Ward and Marcinkiewicz—all of whom are employees of the S.J.P.Co. at salaries ranging from \$20 to \$35 weekly, and all of whom term themselves clerks, accountants, or stenographers, although they are directors, officers and trustees of these million dollar organizations. Miss Ward is a trustee of the *Social Justice Poor Society*—unless she has been replaced in the interim—but when she was asked how many trustees or officers there were, who they were, when they had had their last meeting, when they determined the policies of the wholly owned *Social Justice*—her invariable answer was, "I don't know, you'll have to ask the Father." What greater proof can be given than her complete ignorance of those elementary facts of the corporation's organization that she is merely allowing her name to be used to mask complete and personal control by Father Coughlin. From all of Mr. Spivak's interviews, the same conclusion must be drawn; in every instance, the person interviewed revealed his complete dependence on Father Coughlin and his inability or unwillingness to speak without consulting his principal. Even a barefaced denial by Father Coughlin would be valueless in the face of such evidence, but he does not publicly deny his connection with his organizations—for example in a letter written in December, 1938, he says in part, ". . . *Social Justice*, which I edit. . . ." Such disavowals are purely for ecclesiastical consumption. During this past year he has written numerous sales letters for *Social Justice* saying how "we" need money and how "we" would appreciate one more subscription—and otherwise identifying himself personally with the financial success of the S.J.P.Co.

Naturally, Mr. Spivak's discussion of the connection between Father Coughlin and the Christian Front is not as complete as if it had been written now, after the Radio Priest has definitely taken "my stand beside the CF" and has said of the arrested men "my place is by their side," but we must give Mr. Spivak credit for blazing the trail which less courageous souls are now widening.

27 SONGS OF LOVE AND LIFE

(We reprint below a list of "things I love in the country" as actually written by rural dwellers and published in The Progressive Farmer for 1923-35 and reprinted in Howard W. Odum's book American Social Problems, (Holt). Odum has in the course of his social analysis made an anthology of song worthy of the ancient Greek or Irish poets. He calls it a "chart of the natural and cultural heritage of rural life and agriculture." We should rather call it a clear open window to reality; in other words each of these little paragraphs betrays on the part of its writer a concrete religious insight, an insight not as to a way of life, but directly into life itself. Odum has a chapter elsewhere on "The Church and Religion." This list of "things I love" is found in his chapter "Rural Culture to Urban Civilization." Thus in the minds of our social thinkers religion has come to be associated with one of its institutional expressions rather than with all of its social and individual expressions.—The Editor.)

TO SEE things grow. . . . The happy expression on my boy's face as a martin goes into his gourd and hear him yell, "Time to go barefooted, Mother! Martin's in my gourd."

The smell of clean-scrubbed floors and freshly washed fireplaces. . . . The songs and flashing colors of the birds. . . . The sweetness of yellow jasmine by the roadside, of lilacs in my garden and arbutus in the woods.

To dig in flower beds and plant seeds. . . . Pastures carpeted with sweet young grass. . . . Elms that stand aquiver in frills of tender green, the rose mist of the red-buds, and the scent of wild plum blossoms in the air. . . .

The rippling, dreamily-drifting river and the little marsh-surrounded islands and the high, green, white-capped waves that break on the uninhabited beaches of our sea-coast. . . .

The winter winds as they sing in the chimney, chanting a melody no one knows, and the March winds that bring in the birds and blossoms in a flurry. . . . The frogs as they sing in the marsh on the first warm nights in spring.

To inhale the perfume of a crab-apple tree in full bloom. . . . To smell fresh-plowed fields and walk in a drizzling rain. . . . The superb optimism of wheat fields nestling beneath blankets of snow.

To swap seeds and plants with my neighbors. . . . To see smoke rising in little circles from the chimney top on a frosty morning. . . . Blue-bells forming lovely, fragile architecture in a gloomy swamp. . . . The delicious drowsiness and peace that steal over one at night after planting Irish potatoes all day in a March wind. . . .

The whispering and murmuring of pines. . . . Terraced fields—they remind me of ocean waves. . . . The hum of a cross-cut saw working its way through a log. . . . Lacy cypress trees and the moonlight making shadows on the rippling water. . . .

Dark storms, leaden clouds, breath-taking gusts of sleet, frozen marshes, and streams with closed eyelids. . . . To do my chores at the close of day. . . .

The tap-tap of the ram as it pumps water up the hill to the tank in our yard. . . . The clear ringing of the axe as the wood-cutters chop wood. . . . The peep-peep of baby chicks in the spring. . . .

The cows standing knee-deep in hay on a cold day, eating to their hearts' content. . . . The delicate, far-reaching aroma of sage, and the smell of misty wood-smoke, and pine needles. . . .

The sound and sight of wild geese

against the November sky. . . . The nicker of a horse for his corn. . . . The quiet solitudes, where one may steal away and be alone and yet not lonely. . . .

The valleys of golden-hued stubble, dotted with shocks of ripened grain. . . . The wild squall of a hawk before a summer shower. . . . The friendliness of my country neighbors. . . .

The rustle of the breeze through dry fodder. . . . Big green patches of sugar cane surrounded by brown fields of corn. . . . To see the men come in from the fields and water their tired horses at the well. . . . The rumbling of farm wagons going to market. . . . The smoky fog which settles over the river at sunset. . . .

The odor of decaying cover crops. . . . The smooth, flowing ribbon of earth as it slides over the plowshare. . . . The towering white masses of clouds with the promise of refreshing showers. . . .

The sound of a steady stream of milk in the pail. . . . An orchard in bloom. . . . To watch the hop toad around the doorsteps at eventide. . . . The odor of ripe scuppernogs on a cool dewy morning in September. . . .

The lulling roar and foam of the water pouring over the mill dam. . . . The lazy drone of a bumblebee

as he hunts the choicest cotton blossom. . . . Sheep grazing on the hillside and a lamb down on his knees, wiggling his tail as he goes after his dinner. . . .

Taking eggs to the store in exchange for things I do not have. . . . The wind blowing across ripened broomsedge. . . . The warm sun shining on brown pine needles. . . .

The sound of cowbells as the cows come up the lane. . . . The sweet odor of honeysuckle on a calm, still night. . . . To watch a mother quail and her newly-hatched brood. . . . To watch the crows at sunrise. . . .

The sloping hillsides near glades of cedar, where sheep have grazed, and left bits of wool on bush and shrub, from which the birds will line their tiny nests. . . . To have the lines tightened on a team at the disk or plow. . . .

To hear the purr of the old cats around the corncribs. . . . The little brown wren that sits in the flowering willow outside and sings to me every day. . . . The roar of a loaded wagon on a new gravel road. . . .

The silent comradeship of another person plowing in the same field or across the road. . . . The mournful note of the turtledove in distant fields.

. . . To gather the vegetables I have raised by the work of my own hands. . . .

The gleam of a rattlesnake's back in the sun. . . . The peace of twilight descending on the earth like a benediction. . . . The apple orchard in October when the trees are loaded with rosy fruit. . . .

The firelight from the coals in the furnace and the lighted lanterns making fantastic shadows. . . . The aroma of the boiling syrup, and added to it the sweet sharp scent of ripening muscadines. . . .

I love corn-shucking time, when neighbors are invited to help and the dining table is loaded with delicious food and hot coffee and everyone revels in jokes and humour. . . .

The trustfulness of young rabbits. . . . To fondle the three-months-old colt, to feel its soft coat, and its odor that no other animal possesses. . . . To lie on the ground and drink from a sand bottom spring. . . .

I love a night flooded with the light of the harvest moon and hearing a hunter's horn and the sound of the dogs. . . . I love the path between my neighbor's house and mine, worn white and smooth by much coming and going. . . .

INDIAN MISSIONS AND IMPERIAL BRITAIN

By J. HOLMES SMITH

"HOW CAN we render unto Caesar that which is God's?" This question from the heart of our Open Letter of December 4 to the Viceroy of India expresses the moral dilemma in which American missionaries to that land are involved on account of the pledge required of them by the British Government. This pledge reads, "I promise to do nothing contrary to, or in diminution of, the authority of the lawfully constituted government of the country." This last long phrase is a euphemism for "British Imperialism." Note that there is no qualification of the pledge. The missionary promises to do "*nothing*" contrary to His Majesty's government.

To the raw missionary recruit the signing of this pledge is a formality, one of many in the last busy months in America. He enters into a new relationship with the British Government, which he has been accustomed to think of in terms of the relative democracy in Britain itself, and is quite innocent of any intent to condone imperialist exploitation. But how does this alliance (or truce at best) with imperialism strike the

—*Empire must be repudiated.*

Indian nationalist? It awakens memories handed down from one generation to another, of a time when that alliance between missions and the imperial overlords was deliberate and unashamed.

We take an example near at hand, involving our own mission and our own city of Lucknow. Others may easily find examples of their own. William Butler, founder and first superintendent of the Methodist Mission in India, writes as follows in his second annual report in 1859:

"The Mutiny (India's unsuccessful War of Independence. J. H. S.) which scourged so terribly the north-west of India, destroying Bareilly, and nearly destroying Lucknow, the splendid capital of Oude, in the adjacent province, has marvelously opened the way for the extension of our mission. It has given us Nynce Tal in the mountains, as a fruitful station and a sanitarium. It has opened our way into the city of Lucknow. There, probably, will be the center of the mission. The government has manifested great interest in our mission and given us all the buildings we can want for some

time to come, in Lucknow, free of any rent or charge, and even put them all in thorough repair. Probably the same will be done in Bareilly. The European population resident in the vicinity of the mission has shown its deep interest in it by many and very liberal subscriptions. Both the government and the Europeans there say clearly that they will nobly second our efforts if we will prosecute our mission on a scale and with the energy that the occasion and the field desires. It remains for the church at home to say what shall be done."

The same year Dr. Butler raised in India a fund of more than ten thousand rupees,¹ a large part of it subscribed by British military and civil officers. The following year largely the same group donated over twelve thousand rupees and continued their support during the next year by an increase in the amount. Dr. Butler naturally wrote of all this with a glow of satisfaction, but how did it appeal to the Indian people of that bitter period? What did they think as they saw properties, which had probably been confiscated from defeated patriots, given to the mission, "free of any rent or charge," by their imperial masters, and what feelings did they pass on to their children's children?

It was in another bitter period that the present missionary pledge was born. 1919 brought the Amritsar Massacre, the rise of the nationalist movement under Mahatma Gandhi, and—the Missionary pledge! And yet some of our good friends assure us that this pledge was not intended to muzzle the missionaries! C. F. Andrews, of revered memory, told me a few weeks ago of his efforts in '19 to get the pledge withdrawn, or at least modified, but he was at that time in the "bad books" of the Imperial Government, and the mission executive who negotiated it was too easily satisfied, else he could have secured better terms, according to C. F. A.

In the light of India's present demand that the British Government show its sincerity, in its profession of "democracy" and "a new order" as its war aims, by the application of those aims within its own household in the case of India, it is worth noting that the dark period of imperialist repression in which the pledge was born followed immediately another war into which India had been drawn with the assurance that it was a war to make the world safe for democracy and to give the inherent right of self-determination to all peoples. Bitter was the disillusionment,

¹ Three rupees to the dollar.

but Gandhiji renounced all bitterness of heart as he rallied the people to meet the insolent might of imperialism with the power of suffering love in action.

It is deadly easy for an inconvenient issue to become submerged in the course of twenty-one busy years, full of the admirable good works of the missionary enterprise. Especially when the imperialist exploiters are such respectable gentlemen and the nationalist exploitees are a "trouble-making" rabble

led by "a half-naked fakir,"² in the words of Churchill! And it is significant that the resurgence of

this issue coincides with another war, another attempt to drag India into it behind the imperial chariot, and another reaction of the nationalist movement against imperialist hypocrisy and exploitation. But our repudiation of the missionary pledge, as currently interpreted, has been in no partisan interest, but rather on moral and religious grounds. We have told elsewhere (*Christian Century*, April 10) how a small group of us, American missionaries in North India, after very thorough deliberation, addressed to the Viceroy an Open Letter set-

ting forth our grounds for the decision that we could no longer be restrained by the pledge from protesting against continued imperialist hypocrisy and exploitation, and sanction and support of war. The war issue was heightened by the high-handed way in which India, which in her nationalist movement had adopted the way of non-violence as the means of settling a political dispute involving a quarter of the human race, had been declared at war

We declared that the red aggression in war is but the periodic out-flowering of that deadly plant, white aggression-economic, political, and moral exploitation.

without her consent, and in violation of the very genius of her national movement.

In fact, no Indian leader represen-

tative of the people, either officially in the provincial legislatures or unofficially like Gandhi, was so much as consulted. In something like eleven minutes the British Parliament, under the panic of war, rushed through a bill which not only assumed India at war but also seriously curtailed the powers of the provincial (nationalist) governments.

Aroused by this high-handed violation of democracy, the Indian National Congress, which has repeatedly warned Britain during the past thirteen years that she will not be

² A religious mendicant.

dragged automatically into another imperialist war, demanded from the Imperial Government some substantial evidence of her sincerity in advertising to the world that she was the champion of "democracy" and "a new order." Incidentally, the people of India were not greatly impressed when they saw the princes, in whose states, under the Viceroy's supervision, undiluted autocracy holds sway, tumbling over themselves to follow their imperial masters into the fray and prove to the world that they too are champions of democracy!

The answer of the British Government to India's moral challenge was a vague rehash of stale promises. A wave of indignation swept the country. It was clearly time for us to speak out. As representatives not only of Christ and the Church, but also of the aggressive West, were we not under moral obligation to make some atonement for the sins of the West against India? I wrote to a friend, "Has not the burden of imperialist hypocrisy (proved over and over again in recent years) become morally intolerable?" And since thousands of our fellow-missionaries, and hundreds of thousands of Christian Indians were being swept day by day, at least morally, into the soul-destroying processes of war and con-

sciously or unconsciously taking sides in the developing conflict between the redemptive nationalism of India and British imperialism, it was obvious that we should use every means in our power of thrusting the issue as deeply as possible into their minds.

We were therefore constrained to publish two open letters to the Viceroy. The first one, issued in behalf of both Christian Indian and missionary members of our group, drew the distinction between the aggressive nationalism of Britain in India and the redemptive nationalism of Hindustan. We declared that the red aggression in war is but the periodic out-flowering of that deadly plant, white aggression-economic, political, and moral exploitation. "No world peace can ever be built upon the 'right' of strong nations to continue the exploitation of the less developed portions of the world at will, or to force any kind of 'protection,' so-called, upon unwilling peoples. We believe that so long as that right is not repudiated aggression cannot be stamped out, nor can democracy survive. . . . Empire, therefore, must be repudiated. Its day is over! This is the crux of world peace, the only right conclusion of the present struggle, if the claim to end aggression is not itself false."

Fortunately, our first open letter

was issued during the interim period between the resignation of the provincial governments controlled by the Indian National Congress, the first stage of non-violent non-cooperation, and a probable later stage of active civil resistance, with the Imperial Government meanwhile hoping to muddle through to some kind of settlement and therefore withholding its hand of repression

for the time being.

We were therefore able to send copies of the open letter to several hundred key missionaries and Christian Indians, and the nationalist press

throughout the country published it, in many cases in full. Not so the religious press under missionary control. They were obviously careful to avoid the issue in their columns. The bishop in charge of the missionary who had signed the first open letter consulted the American consul and then wrote to the Viceroy expressing his regret and assuring him that the offender was being dealt with, and that the bishop hoped that if he could induce the missionary to desist from further expressions of this kind the present offense would be pardoned.

Meanwhile, our group saw the

It is our deep conviction that the pioneering Christian conscience will demand, with an insistence which cannot long be denied, that the present unholy alliance between missions and imperialism, through the missionary pledge, must be broken.

urgency of another open letter in behalf of us missionaries to whom the present crisis had accentuated the incompatibility of our missionary pledge with the spirit of that original and authentic Christianity which we had been striving so intensively to rediscover. We therefore published the second Open Letter to the Viceroy, saying that our rediscovery

had "disclosed the fact that we would not be true to our Master, and to the prophets before and after Him, if we as missionaries did not transmit faithfully to our people our convictions

in regard to 'the signs of the times,' refusing to mortgage our conscience to any man-made authority." Quoting the resolution of the last General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church against sanction and support of war, we stated that it was clearly our Christian duty to transmit to the members of our church in India, *without equivocation*, what we sincerely believed to be God's judgments upon such momentous issues of the day. We further said, "We hold that, *on principle*, Jesus was and is against all forms of the will to power over others, against

all oppression, *all* hypocrisy, and *all* war. If Jesus urged His people not to fight *against* the Romans with their own violent weapons, would He not also urge them not to fight *for* the Romans with those weapons?"

Our letter closed with an appeal to the government to give to India and the world in the near future a substantial earnest of their sincere desire to replace the old imperialism with real democracy in India as a significant contribution to that new world order, "and to assure us and all non-British missionaries, who have been required to take the pledge, that we will not be discriminated against in the matter of responsible free speech which we believe to be inspired by the Spirit of Truth."

This manifesto sharpened the issue and we, the signatories, have been obliged to return to America. The imperial authorities, who have been most anxious to avoid issues during this interim period, have not been obliged to act directly, because our mission authorities in India, having secured the advice of the American Consul, are, as one bishop put it, "very anxious to avoid complications with the government at this time." However, His Excellency has written to my bishop thanking him for his action in my case.

This main issue, the persisting alliance between missions and imperialism, bristles with many subordinate, but vital issues. The most pressing consideration is this—the tragedy of the fact that the most significantly hopeful political experiment in human history, the first attempt on such a scale to apply the non-violent method of warfare against entrenched evil, which we believe to be the most significantly Christian thing in India today, should find those appointed as Christ's representatives solemnly pledged to do nothing contrary to that imperialism which is out to suppress the Christian way with the coercions of Caesar.

Shortly before our recent departure from India, I asked Jawaharlal Nehru, "Would you agree with some of our missionary and Christian Indian friends that they may be able to help the cause of Indian freedom more effectively by carrying on such propaganda as is possible without risk to their persons or institutions by any opposition to the government?" The great patriot, who with Gandhi has changed the Congress from a talking body into an acting movement, replied, "The only really effective propaganda against an evil system is uncompromising moral action against that system."

PURGE IN THE SPANISH CHURCH

By S. R. HERBERT

—*The Franco Front in America*—III

THEN came the revolt, which as we have seen was encouraged and promoted, not only by the leaders of the Catholic political factions but by members of the clergy, and it is doubtful that all this Catholic political action went on without knowledge of the hierarchy. And with the revolt came the mass desertion from their posts of duty of both army and national police, came a complete breakdown of law and order. In Loyalist territory many churches were burned and members of the clergy were killed. The Franco Front often told about this, but their tale was at best but a half truth.

The struggle in Spain, in part at least, was a struggle between Catholics. The Bishops of Vitoria and of Pamplona on August 6, 1936, cried out that "Children of the same Gospel are killing one another."³ William F. Montavon, K.S.G., LL.D., Director of the Legal Department of

the National Catholic Welfare Conference, in a lecture delivered at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, November 19, 1936, and later published by the N.C.W.C., spoke of the war in Spain as follows: "To us, particularly, as Catholics, this spectacle of men of the same race, children of the same Gospel, burning, butchering, destroying, with the fury of mad men, is a spectacle that fills us with consternation. We have a particular duty to discover the true nature, to know the causes of this catastrophe, to find the remedy, if remedy still be possible, for the insane rage that plunges our Catholic brothers in Spain into this hideous abyss."⁴

Such reasoned and Christian statements, made in the early months of the war, were soon lost sight of in the anxiety of the Catholic political faction for victory. The Jesuit *America* had by August 15, 1936, declared for war to the bitter end:

³ This pastoral was read to the Basque people over the Rebel radio stations at Vitoria and Burgos but the Basques never recognized it as authentic. Their Bishop, Mgr. Múgica, was a virtual prisoner of the Rebels, and was shortly thereafter exiled.

⁴ Another interesting bit of testimony on this situation is given by the pro-Rebel writer, José Juanes (*Por Qué Fuimos a la Guerra*, Sigirano Diaz, Avila, 1937): "The (Basque) nationalist militiamen hear mass, confess and take communion before going to the front to fight against Catholic Spain. This absurdity is repeated every day, and reaches the most surprising extremes, even to their abandoning their military positions in order to go to the nearest town to hear mass. Once they all went away and our soldiers, taking advantage of their being at church, seized an advantageous position without firing a shot."

"Those in revolt realize that there can be no peace until Communism is definitely stamped out, and there is no telling to what lengths of repression this realization may carry them. They are now desperate men." (By "Communism," of

course, *America* meant many things.)

The dominant power in the Spanish hierarchy is the Primacy of Toledo. This office, controlling most of the machinery of the Spanish Church, went with the Rebels, and those Catholics, lay and clergy, who refused to go along on the Fascist movement were relaxed to the secular arm, and purged from the Church. Notable among the victims of this policy were the Basques, the most Catholic people of Spain.⁵

The central feature of their political program, regional autonomy, was

vigorously opposed, not only by the Toledo Primacy but by the Vatican itself. In January, 1936, before the elections, a Basque delegation sought help for the autonomy movement at the Vatican but was refused audi-

ence by both Pius XI and by the Papal Secretary of State, Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli. The opposition of the Church hierarchy to the legitimate autonomist aims of the Basques, Gallegos, Catalans and

others is but another instance of how Church policy paralleled that of monarchists, Falangists and militarists, against the wishes of the Spanish people. Though the Left forces in the Republic had championed regional autonomy, the issue was by no means rooted in "radical" economics. Calvo Sotelo even declared his preference for a Red (*rojo*) Spain to a Federal

⁵ "The Basque country had 2,083 priests, 450 religious communities, 800 seminarists, and a voluntary family contribution of 551,500 pesetas a year for the maintenance of worship—a contribution which represented twenty-two per cent of the combined total obtained throughout the whole of the Peninsula. No less than ninety-nine per cent of the rural population, and fifty-two per cent of the industrial population, were practicing Catholics. . . . The Basques provided forty per cent of the total Spanish contribution for the maintenance of the National Catholic Clergy and foreign missions. They contributed 400,000 pesetas for the maintenance of Basque Catholic missionaries, who included eighteen Apostolic Prefects. The majority of the Spanish foreign missions were in charge of Basques."—*The Basque Country and European Peace, The Basque Delegation in London, 1938.*

(*roto*) Spain. The Left in Spain was reconciled to working out Spain's destiny within the framework of the Peninsula; implicit in such a program were internal reforms. On the other hand the extreme Right strove to build a strong, totalitarian state, an instrument for expansion beyond the Pen-

insula, an Empire. The Jesuit Father, C. Bayle, writes (*Tablet*, Brooklyn, May 6, 1939) that "the Nationalist Movement (under Generals Mola and Franco)

was a movement against both the Marxists and the Separatists."⁶ The most hated piece of Republican legislation in Falangist eyes was the Catalan Autonomy Statute, for the first step in the reconquest of the Empire was a strongly centralized Spanish Government.⁷ The Spanish Church backed the Falangist slogan of "Spain, One, Great and Free" because it dreamed of an imperial future as a strong Church in

a strong Spanish State, that would again dominate the Spanish world and perhaps more. It saw Spain as a springboard from which to launch the Counter-Reformation of the Twentieth Century. To this dream it sacrificed the Basque, and later the Catalan, Church. Neither

Mgr. Múgica, Bishop of Vitoria, leader of the Basque Catholics, nor Cardinal Vidal y Barraquer, head of the Catalan Church, has been able to return to Spain a year after

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the Franco victory.

When the President of the Autonomous Basque Republic, José Antonio Aguirre, protested the execution of Basque priests by the Franco forces, the Cardinal Primate replied: I shall make only one reflection on the fact of the violent death of certain Basque priests. . . . "To shoot a priest is horrible, because he is God's anointed, placed by this fact upon superhuman plane which

⁶ The word "separatist" is understood here "autonomist." The ambition of the Basques and Catalans was (for regional) self-government in a federal Spain, not separate government.

⁷ In a decree of April 8, 1938, Franco annulled the Catalan Statute and from that day on the education, because "The National Rising signified practically a break with all the traditions which implied the negation of the values which the Rising was to restore."

ought not to be touched by crime. . . . However, we would as deeply deplore the aberration of certain priests which brought them in front of a firing party, because a priest should not descend from that level, both ontological and moral."⁸ After the end of the war, the *Tablet* of Brooklyn (May 6, 1938) published an article on the Basque question in which the Jesuit Father

C. Bayle, head of the editorial staff of *De Rebus Hispaniae*, justified the killing of Basque priests as follows:

When the Negrín government took office in May, 1937, the anti-clerical outbreaks were immediately brought under control in Republican territory and were never thereafter repeated. The Government then began negotiations to bring about a reconciliation with the Catholic authorities hoping to be able gradually to reopen the churches. The obstacle was not the Loyalist authorities but the Spanish people and the Church.

"The persecution of Basque priests by the Nationalists is another charge. In this two epochs are to be distinguished. During the first epoch at the beginning of the war in the conquest of Guipúzcoa when military commanders were working on their own *ex informata conscientia*, fourteen priests were shot after having been sentenced by military courts.⁹ Perhaps in some cases the penalty had been excessive. . . . Evidence shows that some of the priests served as spies and that others cut the mili-

⁸ In comment on this statement, the Basque Dr. De Azpilikoeta writes: "It is really too sad that Cardinal Gomá should lament, as he terms, the cause that brought these priests in front of a firing party for execution, an 'aberration.' 'They were the very best in my diocese,' exclaimed the Bishop of Vitoria, when he knew the names of the priests who had been shot, and he termed the massacre 'a horrible sin.' . . . If the Basque priests were assassinated in consequence of an aberration on their part, what arguments will have to be brought forward to defend the victims of the extremists, who saw the priest and the rebel united?"

⁹ The explanation put forward by Father Bayle to justify the killing of anti-Franco priests by Rebel authorities was never accepted by the Church as covering the situation in Loyalist Spain. No matter how involved a priest or layman might be in political conspiracy, Fifth Column activities or armed rebellion, the Church always took the viewpoint that whatever punishment was meted out in Loyalist territory was due to religious persecution. On the other hand, priests killed or imprisoned by Franco's forces were punished for political misdemeanors. This is a distinction which the Church draws as the political needs of the moment dictate. For example, the *Tablet*, Brooklyn, Feb. 24, 1940, published the following N.C.W.C. dispatch from Luxemburg: "Nazi authorities in German-occupied Poland are persecuting Polish priests for their nationality rather than their religion, information received here discloses."

tary telephone line, and still others from the pulpit made political speeches of a Separatist character."

There are, even today, sixty-six Basque priests in the Franco prisons but the Franco Front in America, despite its professedly deep concern for religion, has never bothered about them.

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In July, 1937, the Spanish hierarchy, with three notable exceptions,

signed at the request of General Franco, and with the permission of the Vatican, an appeal to the Catholic hierarchies of the world, in favor of the Fascist rebels. This appeal was published in at least thirty-six editions in fourteen languages, and was

The Basques were chided for "not having heard the voice of the Church" in their political affiliations. In language reminiscent of the Inquisition, the Bishops described the executions of Loyalists taken by the Franco forces: "Many victims, fascinated by 'doctrines of demons,' when put to death under the sanction of the law have been reconciled to the God of their fathers and have renounced Communism."

used as pro-Franco propaganda among Catholics all over the world. One of the most significant features of this document was the unintentional revelation that the forces opposing Franco were Catholic in all but their politics. This

short-coming was enough to condemn them in the eyes of the Spanish bishops.

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¹⁰ The unscrupulous tactics employed by the American press when influenced by the Catholic political machine are shown by a story in the *New York Enquirer* of March 18, 1940, which says: "Under Dr. Negrín's Premiership, the anti-Christ terror was intensified with mass executions of those suspected of having reactionary tendencies such as the use of the rosary or wearing a crucifix. Clerics and nuns wearing their religious robes were certainly doomed to unspeakable horrors." This is a complete reversal of the known facts.

Franco forces: "Many victims, fascinated by 'doctrines of demons,' when put to death under the sanction of the law have been reconciled to the God of their fathers and have renounced Communism. In Majorca only two per cent have died imminent; in the southern regions no more than twenty per cent, and in the north they do not reach, perhaps, ten per cent. It is a

proof of the deceit of which our people have been the victim."

This open espousal of the Rebel cause by the men who controlled the political machinery of the Spanish Church removed

any possible right the Church might still have had to ask to be considered as a non-political, non-belligerent body in Loyalist territory. The Church stood with a sword at Franco's side. The Jesuit Father C. Bayle writes: "The rule of the Spanish Catholics is not to be found in the Joint Letter of 1931 but in the Pastorals published at the time the Movement began. In these Pastorals the Movement is fully approved."

Antonio de Castro Albarrán, prebendary of Salamanca, in his "Guerra

Santa" ("Holy War"), which contains a prologue by Cardinal Gomá, writes: "The Catholic Church, the great defender of authority, the pacifist institution *par excellence*, the foe of sedition and mutiny, has approved and blessed the armed rising of the National Spanish Movement headed by General Franco." He says that from the beginning of the rising,

"heroic priests . . .

In Estrecho Quinto friars were taken prisoner with clear purple marks on the shoulder from long use of a rifle. On August 16, 1936, several trucks filled with students from Salamanca Seminary, including priests, all dressed in Falangist uniforms were sent to Bejar to relieve the Civil Guard garrison besieged by workers.

left the peace of their villages and mixed with the soldiers and the militia. There up the mountain-side, their hearts already on the Alto de León, go the Falangists of Valladolid. In front

of everyone goes Father Misael Núñez and the Father cries to them: 'Forward, lads. For God and for Spain.' These cries and these demonstrations of enthusiasm—what are they but the blessings of the Spanish Church, which blesses the Crusade? The swords have been raised on high; at the same time, together with the swords, the crosses have also been raised."

There are numerous authenticated stories of armed priests with the Rebel forces and of Church prop-

erty put at the service of the Fascist rising. In August of 1936 there were armed priests with Mola's army in the Guadarramas. When Siétamo, Aragón, was taken by the Republican militia in September, 1936, the last defender of the village was a priest who, armed with a machine gun with a long distance sighter, fired on the Republicans until forced to give up his position in the church tower. In Estrecho

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trucks filled with students from Salamanca Seminary, including priests, all dressed in Falangist uniforms were sent to Bejar to relieve the Civil Guard garrison besieged by workers. The Spanish Catholic scholar, Enrique Moreno,¹¹ writes, that on July 20, in Madrid, "I saw the militia being fired on from the windows of the Church of Our Lady of Covadonga. And on the 21st I saw signs of the previous day's fighting in the Cathedral, in San Andrés, and in the convent of Santa Isabel la

Real. This may explain the violence which broke out in Madrid, and caused the burning of fourteen churches."

The Duchess of Atholl¹² writes of Barcelona: "From July 19 to 21 a Fascist and a priest, having barricaded the doors of a church, sniped at the passers-by in the street below from the belfry. After many lives had been lost the church was set on

fire. In another church in Barcelona a machine-gun was found to have been concealed behind the altar." This scene was repeated in many Spanish cities.

The efforts of this political, pro-Fascist Church to represent itself as a religious and charitable institution, undergoing persecution in Loyalist territory, are slightly indecent. In wartime this section of the enemy Fascist movement deserved no more consideration than any other group of traitors. Take the case of Father Calasanz, who walked the streets of Barcelona a free man. According to his pamphlet, when the Italians captured Málaga, he celebrated by drinking a glass of Málaga wine. When he

Decency alone should have forced the Church either to cease representing itself as a religious institution, or to give up its political ambitions and accept religious status. This latter choice the Republic offered it.

¹¹ *Catholics and the Spanish State*, London, 1937. *Friends of Spain*.

¹² *Searchlight on Spain*, London, 1938, p. 81.

passed a Barcelona memorial erected to those who fell defending the Republic on July 18 and 19, he took "revenge by accumulating saliva and spitting on the places" the Republic had marked for its fallen leaders. Father Calasanz: a humble priest or a Fascist traitor?

Decency alone should have forced the Church either to cease representing itself as a religious institution, or to give up its political ambitions and accept religious status. This latter choice the Republic offered it. The story as given by Edmond Taylor, Paris correspondent of the

Chicago Tribune, in that paper of August 28, 1938, follows in part: "Catholics in Loyalist Spain have appealed to the Vatican to intervene on their behalf with the Spanish hierarchy, the *Tribune* learned today from a responsible source. They acted after they were denied ecclesiastical permission to reopen churches, although the Barcelona government officially had authorized Catholics to hold public worship. Through an intermediary, a high French prelate, photostatic copies of correspondence between Basque and

The churches were kept closed in Loyalist Spain because Catholic political leaders realized only too well the powerful appeal that could be made to the liberal public opinion in the western democracies by the charge of religious persecution.

Catalonian Catholic authorities and the Loyalist government and between the same Catholic authorities and the Vicar General in Barcelona, have been forwarded to Rome. Now they are being studied by Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli, Papal Secretary of State.

"The ecclesiastical denial has prevented the opening of churches in Loyalist Spain despite the wishes of thousands of Basque and Catalonian

Catholics and the willingness of both the Generalitat [government of Catalonia] and the Loyalist Government, it was pointed out. Now Mass may be celebrated in private homes and at the front, and in Barcelona there is a Basque chapel open to the public. Worship still has a semi-secret character, however, which deprives the church of considerable moral authority. In order to combat effectively the active atheistic propaganda carried on by anarchists and Communists, the church must show the masses that it still exists, it is argued. . . .

"It was decided to ask for the opening of the church of San Severo in Barcelona as a beginning, since the church never has been disturbed any-

way since the war began. The Minister of Interior said he was ready to authorize opening of this church. Catholic leaders then applied to the Vicar General in Barcelona for the necessary ecclesiastical authorization, informing him of the favorable attitude of the civil authorities. This authorization was refused. The Vicar General likewise refused to sanction formation of an association of Basques and Catalanian Catholics for the defense of Catholic interests in Loyalist Spain. It was then that the Loyalist Catholics decided to ask the Vatican to reverse the Vicar General's decision.

"Earlier in the summer, it was learned, the same French prelate who transmitted the appeal for churches, sent to the Vatican an invitation from the Loyalist government to send a papal legate to Barcelona to take charge of all affairs of the church. The French churchman, believed to be Jean Cardinal Verdier, sent this message at the request of Basque Catholics. In it the Loyalist Government offered, without conditions, to reopen the Barcelona cathedral upon the legate's arrival. It promised to take all police measures necessary to protect priests and worshippers from molestation by anarchists. As the invitation was not delivered through diplomatic channels, the Vatican

made no direct reply to the Loyalist Government. A secret papal messenger, however, brought word to Basque representatives in Paris that Pope Pius XI was giving the offer sympathetic consideration. He would make a decision whenever he thought the moment opportune, the messenger said."

Throughout 1938, as rapidly as the temper of the people would allow, the Spanish Government increased the scope of Catholic religious activity in Loyalist territory. Chaplains were reintroduced into the army. Foreign Minister Julio Alvarez del Vayo marched in the public funeral procession of the Basque Captain Eguia Sagarduy held in Barcelona in October, 1938. In December a Governmental Commission on Religion was established in Barcelona, under the direction of a devout Catholic, Dr. Bellido y Golferich, to facilitate the re-opening of the churches. But it was up to the Church to re-open its churches and this the Church did not want to do. A favorite explanation of the Franco Front for this failure of the Church to act was that the churches had been desecrated and were unfit for worship. This technicality was never applied to the rebels. Father Thorning and John V. Hinkel, in their special series written for the N.C.W.C. news service, de-

clared (Brooklyn *Tablet*, September 17, 1938) that they entered Villa-real five days after its capture by Franco troops and "found Mass being celebrated on a temporary altar of pine boards covered with bedsheets."

The churches were kept closed in Loyalist Spain because Catholic political leaders realized only too well the powerful appeal that could be made to the liberal public opinion in the western democracies by the charge of religious persecution. In January, 1938, the Franco Front built its "Keep the Embargo Committee" campaign around the charge that the Loyalist Government was "anti-religious." Typical of the arguments used was Father Coughlin's radio address of January 15, 1939, appeal-

ing for a flood of telegrams to Congress against lifting the Embargo. He questioned rhetorically: "When was the American public fully informed that every Christian church and chapel in Loyalist Spain was closed and desecrated; when were we told in the public press that 12,500 ministers of the gospel were murdered because they were Christians; that 300,000 non-combatants, women and helpless little children and men, were massacred by those Loyalist-Communists because they worshipped Christ?"

Not a word from the Franco Front about the Catholic priests and laymen killed by the Franco forces.

(To be continued)

SCIENCE AND HUMILITY

When Jesus said "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth," he did not mean the kind of meekness characterized by the popular idea of a mean-spirited, timorous person.

The great scientists give one the best exhibitions we know today of real humility; that is to say, they are teachable. In the intellectual realm nobody except the teachable has the slightest chance of inheriting the earth. There has come into the world, by way of humble teachableness, a new kind of conqueror, who will be remaking the earth long after the proud and the violent have fallen.

—HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK.

THE JEWISH CHRIST AND THE GERMAN CHRIST

By GREGORY VLASTOS

—"The most formidable enemy of the racial community is the faith of the Jew, Jesus."

It is instructive to find out what the Nazis themselves fear and hate in the Christian tradition. There are times when we can learn more about Christianity from the children of darkness than the children of light.

The first thing that the Nazis reject in Christianity is the doctrine that the model of human greatness is the worker rather than the man of power. The real Jesus, Rosenberg tells us,

is "the Hero, not the bruised one." The suffering servant, the man who identified himself with the poor, the hungry, the captives, the broken-hearted, the man who joined issue with the established powers of his day, was defeated and crucified—this is the Jewish Christ. The German Christ is not a servant, but an imperious master; not a defeated

man, but an august and lordly victor:

"The powerful preacher and angry one in the Temple, the Man who tore them away and whom 'they all' followed . . . not the

Crucified One,

is today the formative Ideal which shines to us from the Gospel pages. And if this cannot shine through, then the gospels are dead."

This new model of Christ is of a piece with a Nietzschean ethic of

power and a Darwinian philosophy of the survival of the fittest. The keynote of Hitler's philosophy is: power to the strong, subjection or annihilation to the weak. He contrasts "the so-called humanitarianism, which is merely a compound of stupidity, cowardice, and arrogance," with what he calls "the humanitarianism of Nature, which destroys the weak and thus

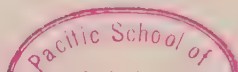
The suffering servant, the man who identified himself with the poor, the hungry, the captives, the broken-hearted, the man who joined issue with the established powers of his day, was defeated and crucified—this is the Jewish Christ. The German Christ is not a servant, but an imperious master; not a defeated man, but a lordly victor.

makes room for the strong." Hence his contempt for the masses. They are those who have been left behind in this competitive struggle. And that is all the evidence we need of their inferiority. "Experience shows," he writes, "that under all forms and all conditions the majority represents the duffers and poltroons." The mistake of democracy is to entrust the destiny of a nation to this "empty-headed herd of sheep," this "voter-cattle."

If Hitler were speaking to the people of Western democracies, this is what he would tell us. And here I only paraphrase arguments I have often heard from intelligent young Nazis: "You need not feel so shocked by my feelings about democracy, nor weep crocodilean tears over the funeral of the Weimar Republic. Do you really believe in democracy? Then why don't you practise it? Is your business run on democratic lines? What control has a factory worker over the man who runs the business, pockets the profits, and has the undisputed right to throw the worker on public relief whenever his further employment would not increase profits? You say that all men have equal right to the pursuit of happiness? Then why the inequalities between the millionaire and the man on relief, and their children, inequalities in all the opportunities

that are essential to human life? You say you believe in freedom. Then how does it happen that at least fifty million dollars were spent by large business concerns on labor espionage in a single country in a single year? You believe in the philosophy of power just as much as I do. But it suits you to keep up the pretence of democracy, while I feel that we are better off without that false front. At least I am not a hypocrite. I have the courage to proclaim the faith by which I live. And I am the stronger for it."

Rosenberg would continue where Hitler left off. "What I have done in dressing up Jesus in the brown uniform of the Hero is nothing new to you. In spite of all your crucifixes, is not the Christ you really revere the King, the Judge, the Victor, the Wonder-worker, the Man of Supernatural Power? Is there a single work of memorable art in the whole history of the West that has pictured Jesus as a worker?" We might take comfort in the thought that Rosenberg's familiarity with the christologies of the West is far from exhaustive. I wonder if his reading might include *The Man Nobody Knows*, that widely read book of the golden twenties, written by a budding business-man, who has since flowered into success? The unknown Jesus Mr.



Bruce Barton discovered for the era of commercial prosperity was the leader of men, the Executive, the Advertising Man, the Magnetic Personality, the man who, living in civilized America, would have risen speedily to the presidency of the United States Steel Corporation, or higher, if there is anything higher. He is the man, Mr. Barton writes, who "proved his right to . . . sit at the head of every directors' table."

"So we both think of Jesus as the man of power," Rosenberg would say. "The only difference between us is that Mr. Barton's ideal of power is different

from mine. I think of him as the Fuehrer. He thinks of him as the Captain of Industry. To be sure, Mr. Barton prefers to conserve the idea of service. But he interprets it in terms that are perfectly consistent with his ideal of power. He thinks that the largest fortunes are accumulated by those who have given greatest service. I would not quarrel with that. Surely the Fuehrer too is the man who has served our party and our people best; and that is why he now deserves absolute and undisputed power. But on the whole

I should prefer to leave the idea of service in the subordinate position where it belongs, and repudiate altogether the Jewish idea of sacrificial service."

The Nazis reject the open community of Christianity. The basis of their community is not human, but racial; that is, a rigidly, brutally exclusive one. Just as with individuals, so also with races, Hitler declares,

The Nazis reject the open community of Christianity. The basis of their community is not human, but racial; that is, a rigidly, brutally exclusive one. Just as with individuals, so also with races, Hitler declares, there are superiors and inferiors.

there are superiors and inferiors; and anyone who accepts the "viewpoint of Nature" must wish "to see the stronger side win and the weaker wiped out or subjected un-

conditionally to the will of the stronger." We know more than enough about the limits to which the Nazis will push this doctrine of racial exclusiveness. Recent history is too fresh in our minds.

But what shall we make of their favorite phrase, "Jewish internationalism"? Do we not think of the Jews from the very beginning of their history as anything but universalists? Did they not think of themselves as the chosen people? Did they not look on their religion and their morality as a national

matter? True. But they thought of their national community as a religious and moral matter. It was religion that formed the basis of their nation, not vice versa. They did not believe that their race had a religious destiny. But they never said: The religious thing about us is our blood. Never would they have said with Rosenberg, "The noblest in man is in the blood. . . ." On the contrary, the religious conception of their racial destiny gave them a standard that transcends the community of blood in a community of humanity.

When the prophet Nathan came to vindicate the murder of Uriah against David, his indictment began with the words, "There were two men in one city, one rich, the other poor. . . ." That is the premise on which the argument proceeds: Two men. David was king, head of the Jewish community. Uriah was not even a Jew. He was a Hittite. The prophet strips off their social rank, their racial origin, and leaves nothing but their bare humanity: two men. Nathan was no internationalist in

our sense of the word, nor were any of the prophets, nor was Jesus. Yet they discovered the essential basis of the international community: that the law of justice and love transcends birth, social position, culture, and everything else. Who is my neighbor? The man who fell among thieves, man in his essential and common humanity. That is the one thing the Nazis cannot admit.

Krieck, a prominent fascist writer, declares:

When Jesus asks, "Who is my mother, my brethren, and my sisters?" and answers, "They that do the will of God," he lifts brotherhood from the level of fate to that of destiny; from the level of biology to that of humanity; from exclusive particularity to inclusive universality.

"The humanity of no man can be separated from his situation, from the place and circumstances of his birth and his evolution. It is not

true that a prince of the Blood Royal and a worker's son are endowed with the same humanity."

In the whole of our experience there is nothing that is so absolutely a matter of fate as that of race. Whether I was born in an igloo of Eskimo parents, or in a Bowery tenement of Polish Jewish immigrants, or in a ducal mansion of parents who trace their family to the War of the Roses—there is an absolutely given fact; a fact that I could not make, or unmake, or remake.

It is not, strictly speaking, a human fact at all. It is a biological fact. It is a fact about man only in so far as man is an animal. That is why it cannot possibly serve as the basis of animal society; and of a human society only in so far as men choose to fall back on a sub-human level for the most important decision that man can ever make. When Jesus asks, "Who is my mother, my brethren, and my sisters?" and answers, "They that do the will of God," he lifts brotherhood from the level of fate to that of destiny; from the level of biology to that of humanity; from exclusive particularity to inclusive universality. The most formidable enemy of the racial community is the faith of the Jew, Jesus.

But here again Hitler can tell us: "We have no quarrel with you in this matter, if I may judge from your conduct. You don't believe in the open community any more than I do." An American sympathizer of the Nazis was recently told by an official of the German embassy at Washington: "There is more anti-Jewish feeling in the United States today than there was in Germany when Hitler came into power." That is what an intelli-

gent Nazi usually asks American critics: "Do you like the Jews? Do you accept them as your equals? The only difference between us is that you prefer subtle, indirect, tacit, and half-hearted ways of discrimination, while we choose to be more open and more thoroughgoing." Less politely: You are hypocrites, and we are not. You condemn us for anti-Semitism. Charity of that sort should start at home.

And, of course, anti-Semitism is only part of the problem for North American Christians. There is the segregation of the Negro in the South, the disfranchisement of the Oriental in the West Coast. The most striking thing of all is that wherever racial inequality exists it is reflected just as much in our churches as in our economic, political, or cultural associations: the church is as exclusive of the black man or the yellow man, as the golf club. Blacks and whites can belong together and work together in the Communist Party. But they cannot worship together in the Church of Jesus Christ. The difference between Hitler and ourselves is that he knows that the Jewish Christ is the enemy of the

Of course, anti-Semitism is only part of the problem for North American Christians. There is the segregation of the Negro in the South, the disfranchisement of the Oriental in the West Coast.

exclusive community; whereas we prefer to turn him into its patron. I think Hitler understands Christ better than we do.

The last grievance of the Nazis against Christianity is its "materialism." This charge seems so inept that one is tempted to dismiss it as sheer propaganda. It seems grotesque to find a recent attack on Christianity entitled "Das Materialismus des Chris-

tentums" (written by a gentleman with the very Nordic name of I m g a r d Will). Yet when one examines the substance of their contention, o n e i s

amazed by the uncanny insight that it shows into a neglected aspect of Christianity.

"The Jewish aim," says Rosenberg, "is the creation of a 'Paradise' on earth. . . . In the whole of the so-called Old Testament there is no reference to the belief in immortality apart from what can be shown to be the influence of the Persians upon the Jews in exile."

In his anxiety to claim immortality as an Aryan idea Rosenberg forgets how the soul's survival after death dominated the thought of the

non-Aryan inhabitants of the Eastern Mediterranean from pre-historic times. One need only think of the pyramids of Egypt and the tombs of Mycenae; and, in the Old Testament, of primitive beliefs such as those reflected in the story of the witch of Endor, who brings up Samuel's ghost from the dead for purposes of divination. But Rosenberg is right to this extent: in the religion of the

That is the trouble with the Jews: they are not spiritual enough in their conception of the destiny of man. They want a kingdom on earth; they want peace, they want the desert to blossom as the rose; they want safe highways and no more ravenous beasts.

prophets the idea of immortality is almost entirely absent; and in so far as it is present, it has no religious significance. Isaiah contemplates the prospect of death with disconsolate

bitterness:

For the grave cannot praise thee, death cannot celebrate thee:

They that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth.

The living, the living, he shall praise thee.—Isaiah 38: 18.

The materialism of prophetic religion is its intense and exclusive concern with human life and human relations in this world. There is an earthiness about the teaching of the prophets, a refusal to make a break between the material and the spiritual, between the economic and the

religious life, between political judgments and moral judgments. That is why they are so disturbed by poverty, dispossession, economic injustice. When they picture the doom of their people, the divine judgment is expressed in material terms: "*And I will destroy her vines and her fig trees*"—*Hosea 2: 12*. And when they picture God's blessings on their people, if they be faithful to the covenant, they think of a time when every man will sit under his own vine and his own fig tree. That is the trouble with the Jews: they are not spiritual enough in their conception of the destiny of man. They want a kingdom on earth: they want peace, they want the desert to blossom as the rose; they want safe highways and no more ravenous beasts. And

Jesus, too, thinks of the Kingdom as the time when the hungry will be filled, when those who weep now will laugh, and the meek will inherit the earth.

And the Nazis will have none of it. To base their ideal community on the Jewish hope of giving every man his own vine and his own fig tree would embarrass a society that leaves undisturbed the immense inequalities of the acquisitive society. The Nazis know well enough that their industrial society is divided as sharply on economic lines as any other Western society. And they have not the slightest intention of overhauling the property system. National Socialism is as little socialist as the Holy Alliance was holy.

FIFES OF DOOM

I saw a picture once showing a Negro mother, and her two young sons, a hanging by the neck from a river bridge, and the wild wind a whistling down the river bottom, and the ropes stretched tight by the weight of their bodies and—the rope stretched tight like a big fiddle string. Aint no telling how many will march by the songs that have whistled through the ribs of the poor lynch victims.—WOODY, in the Daily Worker.

THE NECESSITY OF WAR

By JOSEPH F. FLETCHER —“*Nations enter the paths of war because they can no longer tolerate the conditions of peace.*”

It is often said that war is necessary. Some people protest fiercely against this claim, even when it is dressed up in the arguments of Neo-Malthusians. I, too, protest. But suppose, for the sake of thorough inquiry, that the claim is true. The question arises: Is war necessary because human nature needs and forces it? (Freud argued this way in *Civilization and Its Discontents*.) Or is war necessary as a result of the way in which civilization is organized?

If we agree with the “instinct” argument we imply that it’s hopeless to seek peace for civilization, and we also imply a view of human nature which is *sub-Christian* (if not sub-human). It is silly of some of our contemporary prophetic pessimists to talk as if a religious recognition of sinfulness in man involves belief in the inevitability of large-scale international military conflict.

If we take the view that war is produced by the patterns and conditions of social organization, of the social order, the case is different. On this view we imply that man is victimized by the social system, which outwits and negates his search for

peace. War becomes a product of social artificialities, and not of human nature.

In order to take this latter view it is not necessary to adopt a naive or “optimistic” view of man or to believe in “inevitable progress.” On the other hand, this view helps us to realize the key-truth about war in civilization generally and about the present European war in particular . . . which is that *nations enter the paths of war because they can no longer tolerate the conditions of peace.*

What is the most important feature of social organization? Those of us who have seriously tried to analyse the forces of social development agree that the vital factor is the economic system. Natural man’s first demand is for security of food, clothing and shelter. There are many other things required for peace in civilization but *economic peace is absolutely essential.*

The Versailles Treaty robbed Europe of its chances for peace. By taking Germany’s colonies and markets it turned her imperialism into a “have not” economy. Capitalistic

economies *must* have an outlet for the export surpluses they create, no matter how much poverty remains at home. Germany has had no way to export her unemployment! Germany was, and is, sacrificed to the competitive advantages of British and French "have" economy, vast and capitalistically necessary empires (market monopolies) upon which "the sun never sets."

This is no place or space to go into the whole complex of war, its causes and its cure. But we can't let the fact that war is a complex problem hide from us the more important fact that it has a basic and discernible cause. This cause is economic rivalry and tension, resulting from a domestic condition . . . the relentless necessities of an economic system which requires *to expand as the price of its continued existence at the same time that world markets and resources are contracting.*

We can reply to the "psychological" argument that although the forces which drive us to war, rationalized under slogans like "democracy" and "integrity," may not easily be exposed they *can* be explained. The necessity of war may be "unconscious" but it is not unintelligible.

It has a definite and realistic connection with the plain facts of human social existence. It isn't something *given* in nature! it can't be blamed on libido, or gravitation, or God. Even if the appeal of war is unconscious, it is an unconscious effort to get away from *something*!

The most cynical among us, in the short twenty years' respite we have had from war, never imagined that our modern social-economy could repeat the convulsion of 1914-18 so soon, and along patterns of partnership and propaganda so similar. But it may not be too late to make a constructive effort, especially here in America. If we know the cause of war we can find the cure. Let's try to be good social engineers here in America; fight fascism and its aggressions by building true democracy. This means economic democracy, which develops in an economy of abundance instead of artificial scarcity. It doesn't live at the expense of other peoples.

The problem of war is a problem of domestic reorganization, not of foreign diplomacy. As long as the Hitlers of this world have cause to talk about "lebensraum" they can make war.

A CATHOLIC REPORTER IN SPAIN—II

By LAWRENCE A. FERNSWORTH

—*The New York Times*
and Jesuit Editors.

[*Fear of the Roman Catholic Church hung like a black shadow over the office of the Times throughout the late war in Spain and has never been driven away. It is true, of course, that the same shadow has ruined the sleep of many newspaper publishers in the United States, in addition to those responsible for the Times. An interesting commentary on this fear is revealed in The Nation. Frederick T. Birchall, who was once managing editor of the Times, has been a roving correspondent for his paper in Europe since he left his former position with the paper. At present he is representing the Times in Canada. The Nation states that Mr. Birchall "is engaged in a minor war with the Times executives." It seems that all went well with Mr. Birchall on his Canadian assignment until he "sent a dispatch describing repressive activities of the Catholic church in Quebec. The copy was slashed by one of the night editors and all reference to the church deleted. Whereupon Birchall dispatched a bitter protest to managing editor Edwin L. James and publisher Arthur Hays Sulzberger, and the tumult hasn't subsided yet." In the light of which Mr. Fernsworth's story takes on an added significance.—Editorial in THE CHURCHMAN, March 15, 1940.]*

EVEN HAD I regarded the Spanish bishops as being good Christian gentlemen I could never have followed the public and private injunctions of the Jesuit editors of *America* that "Mr. Fernsworth should submit his views to the Spanish hierarchy." Apart from the all-compelling considerations of professional integrity, I could never under any circumstances have submitted my views to a group of men whom, in

their majority, I had, by my perhaps inadequate standards of Christianity, to consider as more pagan than Christian. I wonder whether the late Cardinal Mercier did not have something of this same thought in mind when, on a visit to Spain (as quoted by the French Catholic writer, Georges Bernanos), he remarked: "Spain a Christian country? Do you really think so?" Or whether such a doubt did not also animate that

multitude of unimpeachable French Catholic writers who, like Bernanos, indicted the Spanish church for its official support of an un-Spanish atavism returning to its source, the barbarian code of the African desert.

Since I met the abuse and injunctions of these Jesuit editors with silence, the Rev. Francis X. Talbot, S.J., editor, and the

Rev. Albert I.

Whelan, S.J.,

managing editor,

began to write letters and give inter-

views to *The New York Times* at-

tempting to make

me out as a deliber-

ate perverter of

the truth. On one

occasion these let-

ters and inter-

views, together

with a letter from a Spanish priest,

suggested a verbal barrage of delayed

fuse bombs intended to explode at

psychological intervals. The Rev.

The author of this, the second of three articles, is a distinguished European correspondent. During the war in Spain he represented the London Times and The New York Times in the Loyalist areas. In this article Mr. Fernsworth, a communicant of the Roman Church, records the amazing inside story of the efforts made by Jesuit editors to discredit his factual reports from Republican Spain.

While recognizing to others the right of criticism, I have always made a distinction between criticism and personal abuse, and I had cherished a notion, perhaps somewhat naive in this propaganda era, that there is such a thing as gentlemanly conduct in the treatment of a person who stands criticized.

I particularly re-

gretted this in the

case of *The New York Times* be-

cause my stories on

the position of the

church had been

requested by *The New York Times*

itself. I recall that

when to its pub-

lisher, Mr. Sulz-

berger, in London,

I expressed con-

cern at the con-

troversy aroused by my articles, he

replied: "Well, I asked for them."

In my own mind it seemed a little

strange that these two reverend

members of the Jesuit order should

not only be admitted so regularly to

The New York Times and there be

allowed to express themselves with

so little correctness, but that they

should at the same time be called

upon for interviews in which they

used language equally unseemly. I

also regret—and do not quite understand—why the letter wherein with documentary proof I met the barrage of these two reverend Jesuit editors was never printed. Thus the veracity of *The New York Times* reports and the reliability of a correspondent were allowed to stand impugned without contradiction and leaders of those letters and interviews were encouraged in conclusions not borne out by the facts.

In setting forth these bare data I make neither

charges nor insinuations nor criticisms. I was mystified. I let it go. I carried on. In the great editorial industry which is

The New York Times, the letters-to-the-editor and the interviews offices seem to be departments within departments of which I know little. My main work lay elsewhere as staff correspondent of *The London Times*, (which I had served in Spain since 1932) and my news messages to *The New York Times* were supplementary and began through my being called upon from New York to pinch hit for it in emergencies. I believe the attitude of the managing editor, Mr. Edwin L. James, toward me and my work to have been both loyal

and fair. He seemed to appreciate a correspondent's difficulties under most trying wartime conditions. I regret that I cannot go further than that in discussing my relations with this newspaper. For a long time I had met with increasing hostility and obstruction in its Paris office through which I frequently sent my dispatches. But here I enter into the domain of my private affairs, which is not part of this story. I merely regret that this question has been publicly

raised and I therefore believe that the reader is entitled to this much orientation.

The two Jesuit editors attacked my dispatches on

the following principal grounds:

I—That my report, based on information and belief, that perhaps 2,500 priests were living in and about Barcelona was false because the government had "liquidated" the clergy.

II—That my statement that a vicar-general was in charge of religious worship in Barcelona was false because no such person existed. "As for the vicar-general, no such person exists as far as the Catholic church is concerned." (The Rev. Albert I. Whelan, *New York Times*, March 3, 1938.)

The charge that the government had "liquidated" the clergy is so far from the truth that it is difficult to understand, coming from a source that sets itself up as an exponent of Christian morality.

III—That my statement that the government was cooperating in the re-establishment of religious worship was false because, (1) the government was "anti-God"; (2) there were no churches fit for worship; (3) the loyalist government was trying to set up a schismatic church.

IV—That the Cardinal Archbishop of Tarragona, Vidal i Barraquer, who, as I had pointed out, was one of several prelates who did not sign the miscalled "pastoral" of the Spanish bishops, a purely political document, did not so sign because he was "mentally incapacitated," in biblical language, a fool.

Let us now consider these allegations point by point.

I—My statement, based on the information I was able to obtain from various sources, that there were probably 2,500 priests in Barcelona, remains the most conservative estimate I have seen published. I modified it further by later quoting the vicar-general as stating that the number "would perhaps not reach 2,000." The London Catholic weekly, *The Tablet*, on October 15, 1938, published an article headed "A Catholic Doctor in Barcelona," in which the writer, D. J. Collier, affirmed: "There are approximately 3,000 priests in Barcelona."

The charge that the government

had "liquidated" the clergy is so far from the truth that it is difficult to understand, coming from a source that sets itself up as an exponent of Christian morality. It is on a par with the statements of the Vatican organ, *Osservatore Romano*, which accused the government of having murdered the priests captured at Teruel. After considerable inquiry I satisfied myself that this charge was without foundation and so reported. I have already several times shown how the eminent Jesuit astronomer, Padre Luis Rodes, remained at his post at Tortosa under the protection of the very government which was "liquidating" the clergy. (He has since, under the Franco rule, mysteriously passed from this earthly scene.) With my eyes I have seen how this government, far from "liquidating" the clergy, was striving to save them and their bishops against those forces of chaos unleashed by the rebellion which the Spanish church officially supported and in which that church had a share of guilt. The thousands of priests and nuns who were placed aboard British, Italian and German ships through the intervention of the government stand as an eloquent testimony to that fact. At various times during the first months of the war I traveled on British destroyers, crowded with priests and nuns, who

owed their safety to the government against which such unjust charges as those of these two Jesuit editors were made. This had been going on as a regular thing long before our own agent in London, Mr. Joseph P. Kennedy, began to ballyhoo the fact that through his intervention he had managed to get a group of nuns out of unholy Spain.

In the course of the war I was able to report visiting

and speaking with priests who were under the protection of the government which had saved them from mobs. One of the places that sheltered them was a

home for the aged where their "keeper" was the sister superior who regularly directed that institution. The only other "keepers" were her sister nuns. Another place was a diocesan seminary, with its garden and patio, converted into a place of detention, and where the most difficult labor imposed on the priests was the classifying of old manuscripts and archives.

These facts are not presented with a view to offering a one-sided picture. There is another and darker side to the picture of the misfortunes

and sufferings of many of the clergy, which are lamentable even though they brought these sufferings on themselves by deliberately starting something they could not finish. In my news reports I have frequently painted this side of the picture. But the charge here is that the government "liquidated" the clergy, and it is to meet this charge that the foregoing facts are adduced. They show

it to be untrue in letter, in spirit and in fact.

These Jesuit editors did not content themselves with making charges that had no relation with the facts, but em-

bellished their polemics with that type of controversial trickery so familiar in European lexicons as "Jesuitisms." For example: "It may be a fact, as Senor Bergamin and Mr. Fernsworth assert, that 14,000 priests and nuns are in loyalist territory. But they are in their graves, victims of the ruthless slaughter of the loyalist fanatics, government and otherwise." (Talbot in *New York Times*, April 16, 1938.) I had nowhere asserted any such things. The placing of such words in my mouth, and then associating me in the utterance of them

At various times during the first months of the war I traveled on British destroyers, crowded with priests and nuns, who owed their safety to the government against which such unjust charges as those of these two Jesuit editors were made.

with a Spanish gentleman with whom, however worthy and respectable he might be, I had nothing to do, and against whom *America* had "warned" Catholics, is pure chicanery.

II—"No such person as the vicar-general existed."

It was very important to attempt to demonstrate this in order to bolster up the Jesuit thesis that the loyalist government was

"anti-God," was engaged in schismatic activities, etc. When I cabled *The New York Times* the facts about the vicar-general, identifying him as the

Rev. Jose Maria Torrens, that paper cabled for information from the Vatican. The Vatican, in what did not appear like a very candid reply, was obliged to affirm that Padre Torrens, who signed himself as vicar-general and as such acted and was recognized both by the government and the clergy, was engaged in a mission in behalf of the Vatican. Later I located and interviewed Padre Torrens, *The New York Times* publishing the interview.

The Catholic *Tablet*, of London, in the same article to which I have

previously referred, (Oct. 15, 1938), confirms the existence of the vicar-general. Since the German-Italian victory in Spain which placed the puppet Franco in power, there has come other confirmation from sources which, under the circumstances, were certainly not partial on the side of the government. Thus in *The London Times* of February 15, 1939, the Barcelona correspondent of that news-

These Jesuit editors did not content themselves with making charges that had no relation with the facts, but embellished their polemics with that type of controversial trickery so familiar in European lexicons as "Jesuitisms."

paper accredited to the Franco forces, in a message that had obviously come through the Franco censorship, stated on the subject of religious worship:

"The work of reconstruction is under the direction of Mgr. Torrent, (obviously a misprint for Torrens), who was vicar-general through the period of persecution."

On February 26, 1939, *The New York Times* printed a dispatch from its distinguished correspondent at San Sebastian, which also must have come through the Franco censorship, wherein is affirmed the existence of the vicar-general, no such person in question was Mr. William P. Carney.

When, to *The New York Times*, I

presented the evidence regarding the existence of a vicar-general in Barcelona, I accompanied it with a photostatic copy of a holographic letter signed by the vicar-general, one of several from him which I have seen in the original. It was dated April 8, 1938, is addressed to the "Senor President of the Basque Autonomous Government," then domiciled in Barcelona after having been driven from Bilbao, and this is the text:

"If in the private chapel of the Street of the Pine it is possible to celebrate the divine offices of Holy Week with all the formalities prescribed by the sacred rubrics, I concede to you the permission which you have solicited in your request of this date. Do not forget that public services are not authorized by my authority.

"JOSE MA. TORRENS, V.G."

(Signature and seal).

By the letters "V.G." Padre Torrens identifies himself as "Vicario General." Far from being an instrument for the establishment of a schismatic church, he was one of the principal agents in obstructing the celebration of public worship. The fore-

going letter demonstrates three things, namely: (1) The existence of the vicar-general; (2) His attitude of obstruction of the public celebration of mass which he forbids. (The masses were, in practical language, completely public, open to all without question or hindrance although in ecclesiastical language they were known as semi-public); (3) His communion with Rome, which prevented his being schismatic.

My report of the existence of the vicar-general may, in the minds of these two Jesuit editors, whose periodical repeatedly boasted that it gave "all the truth about Spain," have been a news "release," a "publicity stunt" and "awfully good propaganda." There may be some, however, who would prefer to place it in the category of "uncontrovertible facts," a term which I borrow from them.

In the next article will be considered the alleged falsity of my reports that the Loyalist government was co-operating in the establishment of religious worship, and the case of the Cardinal of Tarragara.

I do not know any idea in history that is more revolutionary than this idea that Jesus taught and lived: that the measure of human greatness is not one's ability to dominate, but one's ability to serve.—GREGORY VLASTOS.

THE JESUITS AND THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA

The Order of the Jesuits was dissolved by the Spanish Republic in 1932, in accordance with Article 26 of the Republican Constitution, which reads: "Those religious Orders are dissolved which besides the three canonical vows statutorily impose a further special vow of obedience to any authority other than the legitimate authority of the state. Their property shall be nationalized and devoted to educational and beneficent purposes."

E. Allison Peers, the distinguished English scholar on matters Spanish, who is both Anglican and pro-Franco, writes in his "Spain: The Church and the Orders" (1939) on this matter: "A decree dated January 23, 1932, appointed the dissolution to take place on February 3. The President of the Republic had apparently no scruples in signing the decree without comment and within a fortnight of its promulgation the Jesuits were leaving the country. . . . The Society was duly dissolved. Most of the Fathers left the country, to take up their work elsewhere, though a few remained, as they had of course every right to do, in their private capacity." Peers also quotes from a juridical declaration published in the Spanish press on January 15, 1932, drawn up by five lawyers at the request of the Provincials of the Jesuit Order: "The Jesuits, declared the document, all take 'the three vows of poverty, chastity and obedience to their superiors,' and, in addition, 'the professed, who, according to the data furnished, number less than ten percent of the total membership' of the Society, take an additional vow according to the formula presented by St. Ignatius and approved by Paul III (1540) and by Julius III (155). This says that, 'for the greater humiliation of our Society and the perfect mortification of each one of us and the abnegation of our wills,' we bind ourselves 'to accomplish that which the Pontiff of today or his successors may command, in whatsoever concerns the welfare of souls, and the propagation of the faith, and any missions to which they may be pleased to send us.' "

In the latest edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica (fourteenth edition, copyright, 1939), the article on "Jesus, Society of" is written by Francis X. Talbot, who became editor of the Jesuit magazine *America* on May 9, 1936, and has been a most assiduous propagandist for Franco and active in trying

to prove that the Spanish Republic "persecuted" the Church. He writes (Vol. XIII, p. 14): "During the nineteenth century, the revolutionary movements that swept all continental and South American countries and were invariably directed against religion as well as against the State, usually picked the Jesuits as their first targets. Thus they were expelled . . . from Spain in 1820, 1835, 1854, during the first Republic in 1868, and more recently under the Second Republic in 1931."

As can be seen from the first paragraphs of this memorandum, the Jesuits were not expelled from Spain by the Second Republic; the Order was *dissolved*, and that was done in 1932, not 1931.

It is surprising to find the Jesuit "line" on Spain appearing in a publication like the Encyclopaedia Britannica which receives the blind, unquestioning faith of the American people. The explanation follows in an editorial paragraph which appeared in *America*, August 22, 1936.

"Indication that non-Catholic scholars are appreciating more keenly the values of truth and accuracy, is given by the action of the Editor of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Franklin H. Hooper. Last autumn, Mr. Hooper consulted with Mrs. Thomas A. McGoldrick, well-known for many reasons . . . about the possibilities of correcting whatever inaccuracies about Catholicism that might be found in the pages of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. Mrs. McGoldrick, then, in conjunction with Thomas F. Meehan, Editor of the United States Catholic Historical Society . . . took into their consultations the present editor of *America* (Francis X. Talbot). As a result of several pleasant conversations, Mr. Hooper agreed that a start should be made by having the article on the Society of Jesus completely re-written. It will be remembered that this particular article on the Jesuits was one of the most offensive pieces in the Encyclopaedia Britannica. . . . We mention the fact because we believe that too much praise cannot be given to Mr. Hooper for his very judicial and very fair effort to make Catholics the spokesmen in the Encyclopaedia on all Catholic matters."

To give one's life away to what one knows to be of highest worth, not only for oneself, but for all mankind, is the most mature experience open to man. It can help him face death and tragedy undismayed. It possesses the secret of life everlasting.—GREGORY VLASTOS.

HITLER'S TEACHER AND POOR RELATION

It is important to remember that, in spite of Hitler's "achievements," the land of Il Duce remains the classic example of the Fascist mode of existence. Organized moral and social decay are apparent at every turn. A savage economic and agrarian crisis grips the country. Prices soar and wages catastrophically collapse, in spite of all frantic attempts to "peg" them at "just" levels. Unemployment is rampant in spite of the forced labor and the swollen army. A brutal and degenerate bureaucracy preys on the bankrupt populace. The entire fake facade of "economic autarchy" crumbles and reveals the stark ruins of a nation. Desperate measures to stave off collapse take the form of wild demagoguery, lying, terror, prostitution of the country's resources to foreign powers. Thousands of starved Italian peasants are forcibly uprooted from their native land and "exported" to Nazi Germany as coolie labor on the Nazi farms. Thirty thousand are promised to the Nazis this year. And that first and last resource of social decadence, Jew-baiting, is revived. Beginning with this month, Jews are barred from the professions. No Jew may be a physician, surgeon, pharmacist, veterinary, lawyer, engineer, architect, chemist, agricultural or industrial expert.

Mussolini rode high on the original Nazi-Fascist tidal wave. In alliance with Nazi Germany, and faced with a capitulatory and paralyzed Britain, Fascist Italy invaded Ethiopia, Spain, Albania. After Munich, the cry of "Tunis! Corsica! Nice! Savoy!" resounded in Rome. Il Duce demanded Jibuti, a "share" in the Suez Canal, "domination" of the Mediterranean. There was a vast amount of bellicose commotion and bragging in general. Then, in September, world politics made a sudden and startling turnabout . . . and a strange quiet fell on Rome. The Mussolini-Ciano clique with their "interests" generously involved in both German and British financial and industrial concerns became abruptly "neutral."

Italy has always been a poor nation, lacking all essential raw materials. She must import tin, nickel, rubber, iron ore, oil, copper and coal. She cannot even supply herself sufficiently with wheat and olive oil, and must import

great quantities of these commodities also. She must "export in order to live," yet, in order to export, she must import these raw materials, and for this purpose she needs cash, an item Italy has always sadly lacked. Hence Mussolini's "adventures" in Ethiopia, Spain, Albania. As in the case of Japan, poverty begets brigandage.

The present European conflict exposes all the weaknesses of Italy. The fact that Italian labor is still predominantly agricultural means that any protracted war would necessarily disorganize agriculture, and have devastating effects on the nation's food supplies and economic base. Italy is not fitted for modern war. Italy has been moulded by Fascism to be the instrument of greater powers. The "high aim" of Fascist diplomacy is "to be on the winning side."

CASEY'S PRAYER

I ain't saying I'm like Jesus, but I got tired like Him, an' I got mixed up like Him, an' I went into the wilderness like Him, without no campin' stuff. Nighttime I'd lay on my back an' look up at the stars: morning I'd set an' watch the sun come up; midday I'd look out from a hill at the rollin' dry country; evenin' I'd foller the sun down. Sometimes I'd pray like I always done. On'y I couldn' figure what I was prayin' to or for. There was the hills, an' there was me, an' we wasn't separate no more. We was one thing. An' that one thing was holy.

An' I got thinkin', on'y it wasn't thinkin', it was deeper down than thinkin'. I got thinkin' how we was holy when we was one thing. An' it on'y got unholy when one mis'able little fella got the bit in his teeth an' run off his own way, kickin' an' draggin' an' fightin'. Fella like that bust the holiness. But when they're all workin' together, not one fella for another fella, but one fella kind of harnessed to the whole shebang—that's right, that's holy.

—From John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*.

CHURCH OR CLIQUE?

By GEORGE E. WORTHINGTON—"The fundamental issue confronting our churches is, shall they be respectable or Christian?"

ARE OUR churches to remain exclusive social clubs or are they to seek out the publicans and sinners as did the founder of our faith? That is the fundamental issue facing many of us responsible for church administration and direction today. Faced with this dilemma many ministers are seriously considering the possibility of carrying on a Christian ministry outside the folds of the church rather than within.

My own experience is typical. I have just resigned from the pastorate of an old New England church under, to say the least, slightly tense circumstances. The reason given in my official resignation was, "Conditions have arisen within the church which make it impossible for me to remain its responsible head and at the same time carry on a Christian ministry." This statement closed a pastorate of less than two years

One of the things which puzzled me was the fact that most of the second generation of immigrant stock who were church members never attended church. The old families told me that those immigrants didn't want the church—that it had been a mistake to make them members.

which began under very auspicious circumstances (although I had my misgivings from my first arrival on the field). The two previous pastorates had been concluded in the midst of storm; and experience had taught me to be suspicious of Greeks bearing gifts. The very people who

were most enthusiastic about the new minister were known for their ability to make things unpleasant for any minister. I had vague premonitions, therefore, but was not clear

as to just where the difficulty would start and for what reason.

I was not long left in the dark. Within six months one of the wealthiest members of the church had waited upon me with the complaint that I was giving altogether too much time to the young people and children. Oh, she was pleased that they had someone interested in young people (she had no children

herself) but she wondered if I couldn't spend a little less time with the young people and more with the people who were really important. After all, the young people didn't pay the bills! I had looked at her in amazement. The truth was that I had been in her home three times in those six months and that there were many homes of the community which I had been unable up to that time—for various reasons—to contact at all. She

went on to say that she had made provision in her will for the church but that if she and her husband were not treated as she

Here was one issue rather sharply defined in my mind. The church very definitely desired a ministry to a small social group, and considered the presence of children and young people in the church a definite nuisance.

thought they should be she would withdraw her bequests. I had gasped at this. I had heard of church officials holding financial threats over ministers but was surprised at the baldness of this suggestion. I had tried to be as polite as possible, telling her that the task of the minister was so tremendous that we were all appalled by the duties before us and humble before the fact that we could accomplish only a very small portion of those tasks. The best we could do was to select out what we considered the most pressing needs and

try to meet them. Naturally no two people would see eye to eye on just what were the most pressing needs. I appreciated any person coming to tell me where they felt there were more pressing needs than those to which I was giving my attention. But, and I was quite definite on this, money carried no weight with me. I said that I made it a policy to have no knowledge as to how much money people gave the church or whether they even

gave at all or not.

Our church was the only one in a suburb of 1,200 people. I considered it my duty as a Christian minister to do what I

could for anyone in that community who was in need of my help—whether they were church members or not. Here the issue began to assume form. The community was pretty largely immigrant—non-church, Catholic and Lutheran. There were only two of the original families of the community with any children. The remaining half-dozen old families were childless. The pressures constantly increased. The young people's work of the church became the largest in the state conference—but many of those partici-

pating most actively came from anti-church and Catholic homes. The old families saw no reason why young Catholics and "communists" should be made at home in our church. I argued that if we were ever to win them over to our beliefs we must treat them as our equals socially and make them at home whenever they saw fit to attend one of our functions.

One of the things which puzzled me was the fact that most of the second generation of immigrant stock who were church members never attended church. The old families told me that *those immigrants* didn't want the church—that it had been a mistake to make them members. I discovered that most of them had become members about 12 years before, while still in their late adolescence. The man who had brought them into the church had made such an impression on the young people of his day that they still talked about him and what a real man he was. I knew that he had left after a good deal of bitter feeling but didn't learn the real reason at once. I was told that the community turned against him because of his divorce, but I had known other ministers who had come through similar tragedies without losing their churches. I finally received the an-

swer when the young man who had helped this minister with his Boy Scout work told me of the opposition they had received from the "inner group" of the church. These feared for the damage the boys would do to the church property. They didn't like their minister giving time to all the young hoodlums of the community, nor did they like to spend money to light and heat the parish house for their use. This seemed the answer, but I looked a little further. I found that from the time of this man's pastorate hoodlumism had gradually died out in the community. The very fact that adolescents had received some recognition had been sufficient to solve one of the most acute problems in the community. But I could not escape the conclusion that it was because of the very fact that my predecessor had sought to carry Christianity to the community as a whole that he had suffered. His divorce was but an excuse.

This conclusion was reenforced by the story I learned of the formation of a young people's group in the church under this man's successor. He was a man who cared little for young people (according to all the reports which came to me) and spent most of his time with the people who really ran the church—

a dozen at the most. The young people organized and asked the mother of one of the boys—a former school teacher—to advise them. She insisted that they should be permitted to hold socials at least once a month. The officials couldn't see any excuse for it at all. It was by the sheer pressure of numbers that the church finally grudgingly cooperated. But at last the community forced a vote on the minister and he managed to obtain only 11 votes out of the whole membership—but those 11 people held action off for over a year.

Here was one issue rather sharply defined in my mind. The church very definitely desired a ministry to a small social group, and considered the presence of children and young people in the church a definite nuisance.

A further issue became apparent when the immigrant stock of the community began to turn to me for aid and advice. In one case, the very tragic death of a workman who spoke very little English, I found the

family so affected by our aid that the son made a special effort to get off work on Sunday morning, went home and changed clothes and came to church with his young Catholic wife. Both were in direst need of the church and came three successive Sundays. They were literally

frozen out. From that moment on I made little effort to get people into the church. I knew now why the young people brought in 12 years before so avoided the church. They were not wanted.

I continued my ministry to the community as a whole, however,

building up slowly a knowledge among them as to what Christianity really means—and gaining their respect and support. The substitution of a Junior Church for the defunct Sunday School brought tremendous increases in attendance, but the “inner circle” again objected to my taking personal charge of the teaching of the youngsters—in spite of my reply that I would gladly re-

Everyone, even the most lowly, is welcomed into the Pentecostal churches and made to feel that he is important not only in the eyes of God but in the eyes of his Fellowmen.

There is much to be said for that statement, “The tavern is the poor man's club and the Pentecostal church his temple.” The beer parlor and the bizarre evangelical church are the two places where the poor man feels himself wanted.

linquish the duty if dependable teachers could be found.

The church choir was very irregular. We never knew when we could have a choir. It was composed of six people who had sung together for over a decade. Their rehearsals were irregular and really social gatherings at the home of the leader. The young people came to me and volunteered to substitute for the regular choir when it wasn't available. I myself rehearsed them for almost a year. Several times they substituted when it was impossible to get the regular choir together. But immediately the older members said I was trying to force out the regular choir.

Finally we brought the two together and set regular rehearsal dates. It worked for a short time but soon the leader began to criticize the younger members severely. She had told me earlier that young people had been tried before in the church but had been found undependable and uncooperative and that they had soon faded out of the picture. This story didn't jibe with my understanding of young people but I now learned the real reason why the young people had never been dependable. The choir director herself made things so unpleasant for them that they soon dropped out. The truth was that they spoiled the

little social circle she had built up around herself, composed largely of members of the older families.

More and more my wife began to have pressure applied to her in regard to my calling. The damnable thing about it all was the fact that the pressures were applied to her rather than to me—probably because of the very fact that she had fewer defences than I had and was further handicapped in that frequently she herself was not sure of the reason for an act of mine. I was appointed to state and county committees which took some time but which brought prestige to the church and enabled me to do a more far reaching Christian job than if I had refused the appointments. I did turn down a number of such nominations—even that to the presidency of the local inter-denominational ministers' conference—because I felt that there was a limit to what a man might do outside his own parish—and because I felt I should go slowly in such things. In spite of these other appointments I managed to keep up an average of 800 calls a year. But these calls not being confined to the so-called "Christians" of the community—the inner twelve—I was neglecting my pastoral duties.

The climax really came when I was offered a scholarship paying a

large share of my expenses for five weeks training at a large hospital. It was an opportunity I felt could not be ignored and it met a need I had often felt. My ministry to the sick was not nearly as effective as it should be and I told my church committee so in asking permission to take the summer course. I agreed to carry on the services of the church spending two days

a week in the parish and to be subject to call for any pastoral duties. Naturally I had to ease up on my calling during this period and this gave the disgruntled group the very ammunition

they desired. Further, the man they had backed to the limit in the previous church fight still resided in the community and he took advantage of the occasion to increase his calling—and even scheduled a baptism in my absence.

Then came our vacation. The church had never had the cash in the current expense fund to pay vacation salaries—as far back as I could find out. However there were other funds under the control of the trustees from which they borrowed

to meet vacation expenses. These were always repaid by the end of the year and the church usually ended the year with a balance in its treasury. For years the canvass had been conducted to reach a limited number of people who had in the past supported the church. I had tried to persuade the Every Member Canvass Committee and the Trustees to

conduct a thorough canvass of the whole community, since we were serving the community. They refused, saying it was no use to contact the immigrant groups since they weren't interested in the church. I

had the suspicion that what was really meant was that *they didn't want* the immigrant groups interested in the church.

At the annual meeting the budget was increased about \$250 against the advice of the trustees. They said that there weren't pledges available to cover it. From that time on my salary was often late in payment. From the first our salary had been paid the first of the month but now it sometimes was the last of the month before we got our last install-

The fundamental issue confronting our old line Protestant churches today is whether they shall be respectable or Christian. Theology is not fundamental, nor is the social gospel. Not even the question of ritual is preeminent. The issue underlying them all is: Shall the poor man be made welcome?

ment. The trustees argued that finances were in bad shape, but we ended July with enough cash in the treasury to pay at least part of our vacation salary—better than the previous year. Still the trustees refused to borrow from their other funds and we had to be content to take our vacation without being able to clean up even current bills before leaving. It was the old story of official bodies making things uncomfortable for the minister in the hope that he would leave.

I returned from my vacation determined to make a fight for it and feeling that I might be able to bring in enough new members friendly to me to upset the politics of the church at the annual meeting. This hope was without foundation—I called upon a few families whose loyalty I could not question, but they absolutely refused to get tied up with the people who headed up the church. They all had suffered from the “freezing out” process in the past and were without respect for the people running the church. Officials of the church had such a reputation for hard bargaining that the more conscientious people of the community refused to be associated with them in the organization. I couldn’t blame them in the slightest. The inner group was powerful

enough to make trouble for any who dared to buck them openly, and could make all that they didn’t want feel very uncomfortable.

I had no doubts of my support if it came to a showdown, but in the meantime there were many things the “inner group” could do to make things very unpleasant. I had also seen how other men carrying on similar struggles had become embittered, as well as what it did to their families. I wasn’t certain that I wanted that to happen to us. The second alternative to a long fight was to speak out and resign. That I did. The first Sunday after vacation I called a meeting to consider my resignation. At first the phrase, “conditions have arisen within the church which make it impossible for me to remain its responsible head and at the same time carry on a Christian ministry,” didn’t sink in. But the newspapers got hold of it and played it up. The very people who had been causing the trouble were the most indignant at my reasons. They were sure that I couldn’t point out a single instance where they had failed to cooperate with me, but everyone knew that they had given only superficial cooperation. The larger part of the community saw the justice of the charge and rallied to us. One labor union

leader came to me with an apology for not having given me more support—even to joining the church. I told him I didn't blame him—he would have been inviting trouble to have united with the church—but that votes did count and I hoped that the next minister might get the support he deserved if he carried on a worthwhile program.

An older minister had told me when I was in the agony of making the decision to resign—feeling that I was letting down those humbler people who were beginning to appreciate true Christianity—that I would find the act of resignation would do more to fix in their minds the real meaning of Christianity than I could accomplish through years of work. This turned out to be very true—people I was only beginning to reach came to me to tell me of their sorrow that I was leaving, but to compliment me upon telling the “inner group” what was wrong with them. When I left the parish two weeks after the announcement of my resignation I left with a large proportion wishing me God speed and good luck. Already the older officials were having a bitter fight on their hands in the selection of a new minister—since many of the younger officials who had never dared speak up were now

stirred enough to fight for the selection of a minister who would strive to carry Christianity to the community as a whole. My sympathies are with these younger officials but I fear that the “inner group” is too experienced in the manipulation of the church affairs to let them win more than a momentary victory. They will find some way of sabotaging the will of the majority.

My thoughts turned back to experiences of a few years before, as I left this parish. At that time I had been employed at the national headquarters of the denomination, doing a good deal of traveling and contacting churches in all parts of the country. One of my favorite questions had been, when interviewing officials of local churches, “How many laboring men do you have in your church?” This usually met a very hearty response. They could show that their church wasn't high hat—that it was willing to take in even laborers. They usually named a half dozen men and their occupations—railroad conductor, electrician, engineer, etc., but when I pressed them for some real day laborers these were not forthcoming. The only laborers in most of our churches were the aristocrats of labor, with incomes larger than a good many professional men.

The truth is that our churches are largely business, white collar and professional people. Farmers and laborers are seldom welcome—except in specifically missionary projects, such as settlement houses and Indian Reservations. Many of our ministers objected to this interpretation, pointing out the liberal point of view of their members, and their willingness to support such things as social action projects and sermons on the social gospel. This always disturbed me. I had first hand knowledge of the tolerance of many of our churches when it came to preaching, but I also knew that the less important citizens of the community were not at home in their fellowships. The answer was not apparent to me until my experience in this New England pastorate. I found that even conservative New England was tolerant of radical preaching if the minister but left the social organization of the church alone. I made no secret of the fact that I was a member of a C.I.O. union but it didn't disturb the church membership so long as I didn't actually mix with the workers. They even gave me support as chairman of the local denominational committee on social questions. But that was outside the community and didn't make it necessary for

them to associate with Italians, French Canadians and Finns.

The fundamental issue has become, then, not what is preached from the pulpit, but who shall be accepted in the church fellowship. I even suspect that if my predecessor of 12 years before had confined his calling to the old New England families of the church even his divorce would not have cost him their support. But he was interested in the wrong people and therefore his divorce was just what one might expect of such a man—and gave them an issue on which to attack him.

The wife of one of the most liberal ministers of our fellowship said that her housekeeper had several times mentioned that she would like to hear her husband preach. The pastor's wife had thought seriously of trying to arrange it so that the young woman could go to their church. But in spite of the liberal attitude of the church she knew that the young woman would not be made at home, so she had put her off each time the question had arisen.

Our churches have become deeply concerned with the rapid growth of the Pentecostal sects. Their theology is of the most primitive and our church leaders have felt it would be

tragic should that theology come to dominate in our country. Many have studied the evangelism of these churches to see what is the secret of their success. I submit that the success of these sects is in spite of their theology and evangelism, rather than because of it. The fundamental element in their success is their love of people. Everyone, even the most lowly, is welcomed into the Pentecostal churches and made to feel that he is important not only in the eyes of God but in the eyes of his Fellowmen.

There is much to be said for that statement, "The tavern is the poor man's club and the Pentecostal church his temple." The beer parlor and the bizarre evangelical church are the two places where the poor man feels himself wanted.

This might be all right were the intelligentsia, the professionals, and the white collar classes to reproduce themselves, but the fact remains that these are the very families with few or no children. If the churches supported by them are to survive—and those of us ministering in those churches feel they have a great deal to contribute—they must reach down into the classes less fortunate in training and background and

draw in members from their ranks. Unless they do the Protestant churches of America as we have known them for the past few generations are doomed to a slow extinction.

The fundamental issue confronting our old line Protestant churches today is whether they shall be respectable or Christian. Theology is not fundamental, nor is the social gospel. Not even the question of ritual is preminent. The issue underlying them all is: Shall the poor man be made welcome? Ministers can't answer this. Neither can the denominational leaders. Least of all can the so-called Ecumenical Movement which seeks to unite all Christendom solve it (union of empty churches will mean nothing). Only the lay leaders of our local churches can solve the problem. No matter how aggressive the minister may be in reaching out to the lowly and unfortunate, the problem remains untouched unless the lay men and women of the church also strive to make them welcome.

The church has become too respectable. If it is to survive it must unbend a little and once more become interested in human beings and their troubles.

SHOULD A PROTESTANT MARRY A ROMAN CATHOLIC?

By S. RALPH HARLOW —*An Open Letter in Reply to This Question.*

YOU ASK my advice as to whether you should marry a Roman Catholic girl to whom you find yourself much attracted; and, from what you write, the attraction is mutual.

The Roman Catholic Church plays fair in this matter.

It stands unalterably opposed to such marriages. By word and rules it seeks to discourage Roman Catholics from marrying outside of the Roman Catholic fold. The Church believes that such marriages prove unhappy and, unless the non-Catholic enters the Church, there will be no spiritual unity in such a home. I have never met a Roman Catholic priest who did not oppose such unions, nor read in any Catholic publication anything save opposition to marriage with non-Catholics.

While the Church is unable to

prevent members of its fold from marrying non-Catholics, it places every possible barrier in the way of such a marriage.

Protestants do marry Roman Catholics and are often happy,

though, strange to

say, I have had the experience numerous times with such couples, where they say, "We are happy but we would not advise others to do what we have done." They know how great the risks of such a

marriage are, hav-

ing gone through with it. Before you go too far you ought to face all the implications. I propose to help you see as clearly as possible just what lies before you. You can check with the young lady the questions I raise, or, in case she does not know the answer, you can go to her priest and ask his advice.

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Let us take the Roman Catholic position in such a marriage as yours would be. First of all, as a non-Catholic, you will be held to have no true conception of religion, and, as marriage is considered by the Roman Church to be a sacrament, you will have no final say as to what your marriage service will be like. The Roman Catholic Church will decide that for you. In most parishes the priest

will forbid your being married at a second service, after the Catholic ceremony. In numerous churches only Catholics are permitted as attendants in the

bridal party, so that you might be unable to have your brother for your best-man or your sister for a bridesmaid.

Before the priest will consent to marry you there are a number of things which you will be expected to do. You will have to take a course in the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. Will the young lady be willing to take such a course in the Protestant faith from your minister, who will be very glad to talk with her, and for which there will be no charge?

Then you will be expected to sign under oath a statement that all your children of such a marriage will be brought up as Roman Catholics. This will be difficult for you. *You are asked to sign away your spiritual rights to your own children.* If you are true to this pledge, you will not take any step to share with your children the point of view toward religion which I know you hold, and

which is very different from that which the Roman Catholic Church claims is the only true faith. A great host of men and women have suffered torture, the inquisition, loss of

their property and their liberty to keep alive that freedom of the conscience and of religious liberty for which Protestantism stands. All this which you hold you must not share with your children. You give them to the Roman Catholic Church to be raised in all their spiritual thinking according to the teachings of that Church.

Of course to those to whom religion means little, or who take all such pledges as of no significance, this will not matter, but not so with you. Religion in your home, in so

First of all, as a non-Catholic, you will be held to have no true conception of religion, and, as marriage is considered by the Roman Church to be a sacrament, you will have no final say as to what your marriage service will be like.

far as it is expressed outwardly, will be Roman Catholic in form. There will be no give and take, no compromise, in which three days in the week you are allowed to express Protestant conceptions and ways of worship, and on the other four your wife will observe Catholic ways and forms.

Many Roman Catholics in this situation count on

the Protestant breaking down and joining the Church. Every possible pressure will be brought to bear to that end. But will you? Is the assumption justified?

And be sure that you will have to contribute to the Roman Catholic Church. There is a constant demand on Catholic families to support the Church. You will discover before you are married that there are fees for almost everything. Later your children will not be baptized, confirmed, married, buried or anything else without paying for it. You will be asked to pay a fee for the very document on which you sign away your children's spiritual freedom and your right to instruct them in religious faith.

Religion in your home, in so far as it is expressed outwardly, will be Roman Catholic in form. There will be no give and take, no compromise, in which three days in the week you are allowed to express Protestant conceptions and ways of worship, and on the other four your wife will observe Catholic ways and forms.

The matter of birth control is important in the age in which we live. Under no conditions will the Roman Church justify the use of birth control. The Church, like Caesar's armies, needs men and supporters. It will not matter how financially unable you might become to support a growing family, nor how unfit physically your wife might be

for motherhood, you will be required by the Church either to abstain from all sex relations or take the chance of parenthood again. This is partly because the Roman Catholic Church practices birth

control on a wide scale. Its host of monks, nuns and priests completely thwart nature in so far as helping to reproduce the race is concerned.

The people who decide that the rest of us shall not practice birth control are old men who have never married; as unfit a group to deal with this problem as one could gather together.

Practically all Protestant Churches, including the Protestant Episcopal Church, as well as such groups as the American Medical

Association, League of Women Voters, National Federation of Women's Clubs and numerous educational and scientific groups favor intelligent birth control education. The healthiest and economically highest groups in Europe teach it as part of the state educational system.

But it is not alone on grounds of health and sanity that I attack the Roman Catholic position; I judge it as an unmoral

attitude toward sex. It makes the sex act an animal function for the reproduction of the species. It asserts that sex relations for any other purpose are immoral. I affirm

that such an attitude is *immoral*. The sex life in men and women is a far different thing from that in animals. Animals follow only blind instinct and the sex act is for the reproduction of the species. In men and women it is a high and spiritual expression of a psychic union above and beyond the act of mere reproduction. It is by no means limited to an animal function by which children are conceived.

Moreover only wanted children ought to be born in our world today.

Decent food, adequate clothing, the right to an education ought to be part of the heritage of every American child. And beyond that is the mother's health, and her mental preparedness for motherhood. This is of supreme importance. The right spacing of children is part of the moral code of intelligent men and women in America today.

Of course thousands of intelligent

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Catholic families do practice birth control. All one needs to do is to study birth statistics to know this to be true. Every child born in America today has a right to be conceived in love and

hope, welcome because the mother is physically and spiritually prepared for the holy sacrament of motherhood. And that is not always possible.

Ask your young lady what her ideas are on this most important matter. You have a right to know before you enter on a life together in which the health and happiness of your wife and children are involved.

Keep in mind that the Roman Catholic Church will not consent to

divorce save for the cause of proved infidelity. No matter how incompatible, how cruel, vulgar or selfish the partner may prove, the marriage bonds must hold.

Then there are other aspects of this problem to which you need to give thought. I happen to know that you were deeply in sympathy with the people in Spain in their futile struggle to oppose the rebel Franco with his hordes of Africans, Germans and Italians. Surely you know where the Roman Catholic Church stood in regard to Spain's torture. And you know where it stood in regard to Mussolini's brutal and cruel rape of Ethiopia. There is something in this ideology which you need to consider before you take your final step and make an irrevocable decision.

I know of happy and successful marriages between Catholics and non-Catholics. They all fall within one of four categories. First: the non-Catholic joined the Roman Catholic Church and professed conversion. Second: the Catholic abandoned the

Roman Church and, either joined a Protestant church or gave up any outward allegiance to a church. Third: neither of the persons concerned cared about religion from the church point of view and paid no attention to the vows they made to the Church. In most of these cases they were married in the Roman Catholic Church solely because of pressure from the Catholic family of the girl. Fourth: the non-Catholic partner had little use for religion in any form and was willing that the other bring up the children according to Catholic doctrines. In several cases the couple have never been married by a priest, which means that from the point of view of the Catholic Church they are "living in sin," at least the Catholic member of that union is.

If you do not come under one of these four categories my advice is that you had better do some very clear thinking before taking a step which may lead you both into endless argument and great unhappiness of mind.

Faith is the possibility which belongs to men in God, in God himself, and only in God, when all human possibilities have been exhausted.

—KARL BARTH.

VITAL LITERATURE

THE STAR-GAZER, by Zsolt de Harsanyi. Translated from the Hungarian by Paul Tabor. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1939. 572 pp. \$2.75.

CHECK this book on your list of 1939 biographical novels as a masterpiece which will achieve immortality in that genre with only a few others of the past year. Mr. Harsanyi is known to his own countrymen as one of the great masters in the field of fiction. One critic has called him "a modern colossus in world literature." Known to the world of English letters only by his "Immortal Franz," a novel based on the life of Franz Liszt, he now evokes unqualified admiration and acclaim with his novel constructed around that great and pathetic figure, Galileo Galilei.

The nearly four-score years of Galileo's life, 1564-1642, tell even in prosaic figures the story of one of the most thrilling periods of European history. The first half of his life is part of that century which projected the Reformation, experienced the death of Copernicus and Luther, saw the Council of Trent crystallize the counter-reformation into dogma and theology, the Holy Office re-

organized under Pope Paul III, Servetus burned at Geneva, the Armada destroyed, the Society of Jesus founded, etc. Does this suffice to give just an inkling of the vital and stirring times amid which the young Galileo studied mathematics at Pisa, taught mathematical science here, then at Padua, and finally became official mathematician at the Tuscan Court of one of the Medicis? By the end of the sixteenth century, that witches' cauldron of dramatic events, he was well on his way to write his first work, "Sidereus Nuntius," which was to bring him generous acclaim from all progressive spirits of his day and the ill-disguised suspicion and malicious attacks of the Jesuits and the Holy Office.

By 1616, he is ready to publish his larger work, "Dialogue," in which he dares to defend the Copernican "heresy." Cardinal Bellarmine, whom Galileo interviews in Rome, assures him of an ecclesiastical *imprimatur* on the condition that the Copernican discovery be treated as a pure hypothesis.

Galileo, who has never thought of himself as a heretic, but always as a loyal son of Holy Church, had been warned years ago while still professor at the University of Padua of

the fate that inevitably awaited those who dared in any form to challenge the authority of the Church whether in the realm of theology or of science. Aristotle at this time was the "scientific saint" of the Church. To question him, was tantamount to raising doubts as to the very moral and spiritual structure of the universe and of life itself. At that time, Galileo had answered arrogantly and with youthful passion, "Let them burn me! What do I care! I mean to speak!" The test of his courage was to come much later in life, at a time when the burden of years, family troubles, and illness and recurring pain had made him less inclined to assume the role of a martyr.

He had been for many years the pampered darling of Church and Court. He had become wealthy, and security had made him reckless; so when his "Dialogue" appears and from all parts of Europe felicitations and praise reach him for his courage and wisdom, he feels as though the very heavens have fallen in upon him as he suddenly receives a summons to defend himself in Rome before the Holy Office on the charge of heresy, the same dreadful charge that had imprisoned Giordano Bruno for seven years and then burnt him alive at the stake. Terrified and almost hysterical with apprehension,

he goes to Rome, and now follow the most dramatic and intensely human chapters of this fascinating book. The seventy-year-old scientist, the favorite of Popes and princes, the pride of two great Italian universities, grovels in the dust before the awful power of the Inquisition.

The scenes of the trial and judgment make heart-rending reading. Galileo is compelled by his fear of torture and death to swear an awful oath on the Bible that he retracts everything he has ever written and said in defense of the theory that the sun is the center of our universe and that the earth and the other planets move around the sun.

The description of these scenes and of the tortures that Galileo suffers as he finds only these alternatives facing him, either he stands by scientific truth as he knows it and suffers certain death at the stake, or he recants and forever forfeits his authority and integrity in the world of science, are superbly done; the reader's blood will boil as he realizes what has been done to the progress of science in the name of Holy Church and the Bible, and he will, understanding the poor victim's plight, forgive him for playing the coward and submitting to the indignities of his public retraction.

Galileo is sentenced to an indefi-

nite term of imprisonment together with the lesser penance of reading seven penitential psalms every week for three years; his first sentence is somewhat softened by the circumstance that after a few years he is permitted to live in his own little villa on the out-skirts of Florence. Here he spends the remaining days of his life. His first reaction of self-abasement to his retraction of what he had written and taught now gives way to renewed energy in scientific research. He works the harder because his eye-sight is beginning to fail, and five years before his death night settles upon him. However, he is still feverishly working, dictating the pages of his last and greatest work, "The New Science," which is to be given to the world shortly before his death in 1642.

In his younger years he had discovered the laws of unhampered fall, determined the laws of the pendulum, discovered the principles of specific gravity, of heat, of the conservation of energy. He had invented the telescope, had improved an instrument that was later to become our microscope, and had opened up new worlds for astronomy and physics. Through it all he had remained, at least he had thought so, a faithful Catholic. In his last years doubts as to the authority of the

Church, particularly in the realm of politics and science, assail him, and he asks himself fearfully, "Am I becoming a Protestant?"

Now, as darkness closes over his sight and he must depend upon the services of amanuensis and servant, his old courage returns, and with high glee he contemplates the reception of his last work which shall vindicate his name, for by the time its truth has become known, he will be dead; but his name and fame will live on. There is toward the close of the book a touching scene when Galileo, blind and almost helpless, is visited by a young English poet who wishes to meet and compliment the great Italian scholar and inventor. It is young John Milton, many years later to write the "Sonnet On His Blindness," who answers blind Galileo's "God preserve you from going blind in your old age, my son," with a laughing "I don't think I shall ever go blind, I have eyes like an eagle" and then adds "Bless me, Messer, now, before I go." Galileo died on January 8, 1642. Two officials of the Inquisition were at his bedside as he died, and a few hours before death closed his eyes, a Jesuit messenger brought him the "apostolic benediction" of his Holiness Pope Urban VIII.

What stirred me most about this

book was the contemporaneity of its temper and flavor. Let no one think that the story of Galileo Galilei is an "ancient tale" with nothing more to recommend it than a pretty "once upon a time." It is a most frightening story of what may still happen even in these "advanced" days of the twentieth century. For here we see through the eyes of a careful historian and great artist the unending conflict that heaps tragedy upon tragedy in the course of our civilization. The story of Galileo is the story of the battle between the forces of darkness and the forces of light, of the struggle between church and state, between reaction and progress, between obscurantism and liberalism.

We realize anew as we breathlessly scan these pages how true it is that only incessant vigilance can prevent a return of the rule of those forces that utilized perjury, torture, and the most fiendishly cruel forms of capital punishment to halt the onward march of the free spirit, the inquiring mind, the adventuring soul. These forces of demonic darkness are still with us; their voices are less strident, and their faces wear new masks; but as intolerance, prejudice, provincialism, and whatever their ugly companions may be, they are as dangerous and mischievous today as in the days of Galileo.

This book should become required reading in every advanced course in literature. It will help keep America's senses awake and her spirits alert. Should the day ever come, when Americans reading this book can say, "But such things happened three-hundred years ago; they happened in renaissance Italy to a pioneer in science; they can't happen here or now," then liberty is doomed and Democracy has become a sounding brass and a clanging cymbal.

KARL M. CHWOROWSKY.

FAILURE OF A MISSION, *Sir Neville Henderson, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, \$3.00.*

Sir Neville Henderson is a typical upper class British career diplomat who was transferred from Buenos Aires to Berlin by the Foreign Office in April, 1937. His "mission" was to keep England and Germany at peace, and that mission failed in August of 1939 because Adolph Hitler was an ambitious and unprincipled bounder who fancied himself not merely a second Iron Chancellor but a second—and more powerful—Wotan.

That, in brief, is the story of "Failure of a Mission." Sir Neville Henderson tells it well and in the telling he gives us some exceptionally inter-

esting sidelights on important personalities in Nazi-dom—Goering, for whom he had a warm personal regard, Himmler, head of the dreaded Gestapo, whom he feared, and Ribbentrop, whom he cordially disliked.

This is undoubtedly a significant book for the historian, but its significance is that of the official "Blue-Book," the "Apologia"—British policy was always loftily moral and right; Munich was a victory for British diplomacy and not a catastrophic defeat which led directly to war; Chamberlain is a great statesman, etc.

As an autobiography "Failure of a Mission" is something less than candid and must derive considerable significance from what it leaves out. Although Sir Neville went to Berlin in the Spring of 1937 and must therefore have devoted considerable time and energy to the problems arising out of Britain's hypocritical "Non-Intervention" policy in Spain, he does not devote a single paragraph to the Spanish conflict. He excoriates Russia for dealing with Hitler behind the Allies' back, but in his entire account of the Czech crisis of 1938 and of Munich there is no mention of the willingness of the Soviet Union to go to the aid of Czechoslovakia, nor of the deliberate exclusion of Russia from the Munich conference. He

emphasizes the fact that Britain had no treaty obligations towards Czechoslovakia, but nowhere does he mention the midnight visit of the British and French ambassadors to Hradshin palace to browbeat the Czechs into accepting Hitler's terms. He is careful, moreover, to avoid any criticism of Italy and fascism, and he speaks highly of Attolico, the Italian ambassador to Germany, as one of his closest friends in the diplomatic colony in Berlin.

The failure of Sir Neville's mission was the failure of the whole Tory appeasement policy. There is, however, a clear tendency here to justify the policy and to blame its failure on the dishonesty and lack of character of Hitler and the Nazi radicals like Ribbentrop, Himmler, etc. and—significantly enough—on the "mistakes" of those in whose interest Britain was acting. Sir Neville leaves no doubt in the minds of his readers that he personally came down hard on the side of more appeasement at every critical point in the history of British-German relations while he was in Berlin.

Granting that this is a British diplomat's whitewashing of British foreign policy, it remains a timely and thrilling narrative of the rush towards catastrophe by one who was caught in the middle of it.—A. J. S.

THEIR FUTURE IS NOW, by Ernest M. Ligon, 1939, Macmillan Co., 60 Fifth Ave., New York.

Psychology is the servant of religious education. It is becoming more and more of a help to those who are concerned with the growth of Christian character. With this latest book of Professor Ligon, it can be said that science is applied to the development of character.

"Their Future Is Now" provides a scale of progress for the growing personality and definite goals for each age group. These standards are based upon broad interpretations of the eight beatitudes, classifying them as vision, love of righteousness and truth, faith in the friendliness of the universe, dominating purpose (pure in heart), being sensitive to the needs of others, forgiveness, magnanimity, and Christian courage. A large chart accompanies the book to give specific attitudes which ought to be found in age groups from birth to maturity. These traits were used in a research project conducted by Union College in connection with the Church School of Westminster Presbyterian Church of Albany, N. Y.

Jane Addams referred to the "snare of preparation." She pointed out that one does not "prepare" himself to serve mankind in the future.

He does it now, where he is. Young people who wait until they are older to practise the ideals of love, courage and service are deluding themselves. For if they do not apply their principles in the present they lose the power to make them work later.

Professor Ligon recognizes that character is produced now, in terms of contemporary practical problems, and in the light of carefully worked out standards. Intelligence tests and mental measurements assist in the guidance of growth.

This is a book for parents as well as Church School teachers. It ought to be of great service to those who wish to discover the source of difficulties in the behaviour of children. The "Personality Profile" suggested, gives an outline of the total personality, with an analysis of personality in terms of physical development, intellectual development, special aptitudes, and the character and personality traits.

Excellent helps are provided for learning to live with other people. "All for one and one for all" is an ideal much to be coveted and can be learned. Social integration is perhaps the greatest weakness of modern life, and the one great Christian value often neglected. The tragic condition of our world today calls for a new and skilled emphasis on

the art of living together in God's world. Science can help the honest Christian to face the failure of past religious education—whether in home or church—and set about the task of successfully building Christian character and a Christlike world.

WAYNE WHITE.

LET MY PEOPLE GO, by *Cedric Bel-frage*; Victor Gollanz, Ltd., London, 1940.

This is the story of a Southern hill-billy, as talented a hill-billy as Cordell Hull, for instance, and one who could have made as successful a career in his chosen work. But God hung a tragic plumb-line in his soul and so has kept him hungry in the hungriest parts of the hungry South and has laid across his shoulders the accolade of a mule strap. Claude Williams hated "top-down control" and loved people. This love and this hate furnish the motif of the story of Claude's ministry which has made and (for he is still young) will continue to make him Christ's man and the world's fool.

Claude Williams' work has been in the South whose bonds, economic, intellectual, racial, he has been releasing, first in himself, then in his fellows. Beaten, jailed in unspeakable jails, hunted, starving, sick,

thrown out of his home, the keynote of his life is nevertheless deep satisfaction. His people, miners, sharecroppers, know him and enjoy him for they know that when they listen to him they are listening to their own deepest selves. They know too that Claude, like Christ, speaks to their eternal salvation *in terms of their immediate desperate needs*.

This book is written with penetration and understanding in eloquent and fitting style. It is exciting, disturbing, greatly inspiring.

K. L.

CHRISTIAN FAITH AND DEMOCRACY,
by *Gregory Vlastos*. *Hazen Books on Religion*. Association Press, N. Y. \$.50.

The prophets of Judaism do not beg for charity for the poor. They demand justice on the ground that "if the poor man does not get his rights, we shall all be destroyed, for the moral structure that upholds our community is undermined." Jesus is of their tradition. He didn't feel sorry for the poor, but for the rich whose treasure and illusion of superiority makes them unready for the Kingdom whose basis is equality and service. The pagan lords live by domination. The spirit of Christ is to serve, "to weave the single thread

of one's own life into the common destiny; to find life in spending it; to realize life in giving it away." The worker is the "prototype of human greatness." Tycoons are cheap. They don't amount to anything. This is the revolutionary doctrine of Jesus whose overflowing interpretation of the Jewish tradition gives meaning to our democracy.

But so long as our faith in love lacks the substance of action, no one can profess "love" without a measure of hypocrisy. "The heart of religion is Jesus' prayer: Thy will be done. If that prayer be sincere, it issues in a quality of life which is the unique contribution of the religious person in the struggle for justice." Professor Vlastos has given us a dynamic book, giving off light and heat and power on every page, in every line. He brings a philosophic breadth and depth to the sharp perceptions of a truly religious insight. To the Christian who has adjusted his values to the world's values this book will be painful reading. To the "unreconstructed" rebel of Christ it will be meat and drink.

K. L.

THE EAGLES GATHER, *Taylor Caldwell, Charles Scribner's Sons, N. Y., 1940, 498 pp.*

"The Eagles Gather" is, I believe,

the true story of an American family of munitions manufacturers, masquerading here under the name of Bouchard; of the insatiable greed and deliberate treachery by which their vast fortune was accumulated, and the tyranny, hypocrisy, and violence which maintain it.

My first reaction to this book was one of unbelieving horror, and I still do not want to accept it as true. The men about whom it is written seem too terrible to be real, their crimes against civilization too monstrous. I should like to accuse Taylor Caldwell of enormous exaggeration, I should like to inquire into her sources of information, and above all, I should like to believe that a situation such as she describes is impossible. But I cannot close my mind to the question which persistently arises:—Suppose it *is* true? What then?

This is what—and it is a picture of incredible ugliness.

The juggernaut rolling down upon us is not, as we have been persuaded to believe, the armies of Hitler (equipped with guns, ammunition, bombs, and airplanes from the factories of the Bouchards), nor the conscientious inoculation of thousands of people with the virus of the Nazi ideology. It is a power of such deadliness that a Fuehrer and his dreams are only tools to bring under its domi-

nation an entire civilization. It is the unrestrained ambition of a few to be masters of the whole by whatever means they can invent. Peace is not healthy for the munitions business and the munitions makers are hungry for markets. War provides these markets.

Time and again as I met the Bouchards gathered in their luxurious offices coolly pronouncing the death-sentence of millions of men, I was harassed by that too-familiar picture of soldiers in the trenches waiting their turn to die, and asking themselves in bewilderment—as if some answer might be vouchsafed them to justify their sacrifice—"What are we fighting for?" For what indeed but the colossal greed of a handful of men and a trumped up cause! "Make the world safe for democracy" is a truly glowing phrase, rolled glibly on the tongues of Taylor Caldwell's vultures the sales' slogan for their wares.

And how is safety insured for the secret operations of the warmakers? A college professor dares to attack a system which permits such shameless violation of our liberty, and he is compelled to resign his chair. A newspaper publishes a story conveying an intimation of the truth; it is quietly and efficiently erased. Radio broadcasts proclaiming the

facts are rendered "harmless" by the ingeniously arranged programs of stations privately owned and operated. A congressman refuses to be a party to some shady manoeuvre; he is not reelected and his career as a useful public citizen is ruined. And many a brilliantly articulate and well-informed clergyman thunders in the name of truth not the truth, but lies which pass for truth, dictated by the men by whom he is subsidized! Who are we, the real victims, to believe? How are we to know the truth?

Are we entirely at the mercy of the Bouchards whose evil genius can precipitate pogroms, make or break dictators, and convince us that once again the cause of democracy demands our blood and tears? They have been very clever. In the name of democracy they have fostered a campaign of propaganda which denies freedom in every syllable. "Send the people to war," they have said. "Give them something to distract them from vital internal problems which we refuse to adjust. Threaten a little this precious democracy of theirs which we have undermined, and they will go out to die for it, leaving the field clear for us to secure our hold once for all." But their campaign has been too successful. The very fact that doctrines

which are anathema to the democratic ideal have achieved such popularity, has defeated their purpose by revealing that democracy, as we have come to accept it, is weak and trembling—that it no longer truly represents the spirit of a people who desire to think, speak, and live in freedom. It has made individuals more than ever keenly aware of the weakness of their hold upon those things which a truly democratic government assures: and it will consecrate them not to the futile expenditure of enormous energy and countless lives in the preservation of the old, out-worn

ideals, but to the rebuilding of a new and more vital and far more challenging freedom.

Through the schemings of the Bouchards we are coming to *believe* in democracy—not merely to accept it passively as our rightful heritage. By these schemings the warmakers have signed their own death-warrant. In the reaffirmation of the true democratic ideals there will be no place for them, and they shall perish by the newly-won strength of the very thing they sought to destroy.

MARJORIE SMITH.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE LEOPARD'S SPOTS

Judging from the advertisement in the *New Republic*, the material censored by the *New York Times* would seem to warrant the publication of a magazine such as I take yours to be, as an antidote to the growing influence of foreign ecclesiastics in our domestic political life, due to the regimented solidarity of their followers.

As a political liberal, I have been censured by friends for my attitude toward the growth of this influence, but I cannot forget the historic record of the Leopard that has not changed his spots since Saint Bartholomew, judging by its more recent record in Republican Spain.

Its political ambitions are a threat to democratic institutions and may well cause us to pause in our tolerance of intolerance toward the orderly development and progress of the world's political life. Democracy connotes tolerance, but surely not tolerance of an evil that threatens the existence of democracy itself.

F. B. Clark

Trenton, New Jersey

A SPADE IS A SPADE

I take this opportunity to tell you that I read your magazine from cover to cover. I am not religious but enjoy your angle in treating all problems.

If I had my way I would make this magazine the official publication of every organization which speaks about democracy or pretends to stand up for the Bill of Rights.

If you are not more widely read isn't it because your language, your high idealism, your abstract views cannot be grasped by the masses who call a spade a spade? Good Luck!

Nina Eskenay
Brooklyn, New York

* * * *

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While I may not always agree on all you say, I am convinced this magazine is most sound and fills a need for an intelligent, outspoken presentation of the Protestant viewpoint.

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Rev. Mervin Hill
Bronx, New York

* * * *

ILLUMINATING

I thoroughly enjoyed your March issue, and wish to state that the following two articles were most illuminating:—"The Franco Front" and "Silver Charlie."

Joseph Robbins
Cleveland, Ohio

* * * *

UNCOMPROMISING

Congratulations on your splendid magazine. I have the one for March, and am so thankful that you have said what you have in this issue. It had seemed as if non-Catholics were asleep, or hypnotized by the growing power and the apparent approval of fascism when put over by the Catholic Church. So I have great respect and gratitude for what you are doing so forthrightly, fairly and uncompromisingly and how I hope that the list of your readers constantly increases.

Edith Flagg
New York City

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